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Malile Visits Ioannina With Greece's Papoulias

AU1802161289 Tirana ATA in English
0743 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Tirana, February 18 (ATA)—The minister for foreign affairs, Reiz Malile, who went to Ioannina on a friendly non official visit on February 17, paid visits to this city. Accompanied by the foreign minister of the Greek Republic, Karolos Papoulias, and other personalities, he visited the hospital of the city, one of the most important curative health centers of Ioannina. Managers, physicians, and specialists of this institution acquainted the Albanian friend with some of the wards and clinics of this hospital. Working people of the hospital, who met with the foreign minister, Reiz Malile, wished him welcome and voiced their sentiments of friendship and sympathy for Albania and the Albanian people. From there, Reiz Malile, together with his colleague, Karolos Papoulias, went to the new hospital in the suburbs of Ioannina, that will be inaugurated soon.

A press conference was organized in one of the halls of the Xenia Hotel in Ioannina. Attending were representatives of the newspapers of Ioannina and other cities of Greece, as well as of the two Greek television channels. Karolos Papoulias said among the other things to the journalists, that I exchanged views with my colleague Malile on the development of bilateral relations and particularly on the Balkan cooperation. We noticed, he said, that much is done with respect to this, nevertheless possibilities exist for more, particularly in the economic, trade, and cultural domains. Whereas the Albanian foreign minister, Reiz Malile, after voicing his satisfaction to meet with representatives of the Greek press and radio television, said that on this occasion I want to thank once again Mr. Papoulias and all the other personalities for the very warm and friendly reception reserved to us here in Ioannina. I may say that there are many things in common between the people of Ioannina and the Albanians, because historically, Ioannina has been a connection center between our two countries.

It has become a tradition by now, said the Albanian foreign minister, to the journalists, that Mr. Papoulias and I meet time and again, not only in Greece and Albania, but also in other international activities, and there is no doubt that all these meetings have contributed to the strengthening of the relations between our two countries and peoples. Here, too, I have talked with Mr. Papoulias, and on this occasion drew a balance sheet of our relations, and we noticed with satisfaction that steps forward are made, and for this there is no doubt that the government of Mr. Papandreou, as well as the foreign minister of Greece, my esteemed colleague and friend, Karolos Papoulias, deserve a special merit. We exchanged views on various fields of bilateral cooperation, as well as on other problems of international policy.

The problems of the Balkans occupy an important place in our cooperation. We, Reiz Malile said, are for the removal of the clouds of the past in the Balkans, and this process, which has begun and is welcomed, should not mark the time, but must always develop. And we notice with satisfaction that the Greek Government makes constructive efforts in this respect. In the coming year, he said, the meeting of the Balkan foreign ministers will be held in Tirana.

We shall do everything possible that this meeting be held in the spirit of understanding, confidence, and cooperation of our countries. With Mr. Papoulias we talked today also on the Mediterranean, because we are countries belonging to this region and on this occasion I should stress that Albania is for the superpowers' fleets withdrawal from the Mediterranean and that this zone become a zone of peace and friendship. I think, the foreign minister, Reiz Malile, said at the end of his statement, that the cooperation between our two countries serve not only the strengthening of our friendship, but the creation of an atmosphere of peace and security in the region as well. Albania has been and is for the strengthening of this cooperation with all the countries of the Balkans.

Together with Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias, the Albanian foreign minister, Reiz Malile, went to the town of Metsovon, about 60 kilometers far from Ioannina. The people of this town wished welcome to the Albanian foreign minister, considering it, as the mayor of the municipality said, as an honor for the inhabitants of this zone. Here he visited also the gallery of arts of Metsovon, where there are displayed and preserved artistic works of great values.

Tanzanian Youth Leader Arrives 21 Feb

AU2202120489 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, Andrew Masanje [name as heard], president of the Tanzanian youth organization, arrived today in our country. He was welcomed at the airport by Mehmet Elezi, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Union of Working Youth of Albania.

Ismail Djaloshi Appointed Ambassador to DPRK

AU2202115789 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Text] By decree of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Ismail Djaloshi is appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the DPRK, replacing Jovan Antoni, who has returned home.

Drought Endangers Electricity Supplies

AU1902204889 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Telephone report by Tropoje District correspondent Ilir Biskataj on severe drought situation]

[Text] Today at 1400 GMT, the level of the artificial lake feeding the "Light of the Party" hydroelectric power plant at Fierze was 202 (?meters), against the maximal quota of 296 (?meters). More concretely, if the water level falls 2-3 meters more, none of the dynamo aggregates will be able to function.

The Drin River's flow into the Fierze Lake is 60 cubic meters per second. This is the lowest figure in 50 years. The Fierze power plant is also the main supplier of electricity on the Drin River, which, in turn, is the main source for the country's electricity production. The flow of the rivers supplying the "Enver Hoxha" hydroelectric plant in Koman, such as the Valbona River, the Merkuri River, and others, have been transformed into small streams. The flow of the Valbona River, for example, has dropped to one-tenth of its average during the last 10 years.

Editorial Views 'Serious' Hydropower Situation

AU2102133489 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 14 Feb 89 p 1

[Editorial: "A Very Special Hydropower Situation": "The Party Wants Us To Rise Up to the Difficulties of the Drought"]

[Text] It is clear to everyone that we are experiencing a winter that is not normal, the driest winter in 40 years. Sixty-five days have elapsed with almost not a drop of water, while night temperatures have been low, below the average over many years. This has created an unprecedented hydropower situation. Throughout the entire hydrographic system, the water flow in recent months has been 24-55 percent below the average over many years. Lake Fierze is approaching its minimal reserves.

Acting in conformity with the party's instructions, the Council of Ministers has determined special measures. Their aim is to meet the situation with the least possible losses and to prepare for a worsening of the situation, in case the drought lasts even longer. Problems concerning electricity supplies, drinking water supplies, and work in the production sector are considerable. Therefore, beginning today, all districts and consumers of electricity will reduce their consumption by 10-15 percent of the daily average on a national scale. The reduction will be even greater for particular consumers. A strict regimen is to be imposed on drinking water consumption in enterprises and work centers, in various institutions, and at home. Before drinking any water, everyone should remember that it must be saved as much as possible.

The hydropower situation that has been created and the measures that have been adopted must be properly understood, primarily from the political viewpoint. This situation is a result of objective natural conditions. Despite this, when confronted with such difficulties our people and our economy have never been broken. On the contrary, they have found the strength and the possibilities to confront such a situation with thrift and intelligence. This has happened in previous cases, during savage winters and other unfavorable weather conditions.

Stressing this significant fact, we must at the same time never forget and underrate what we must do in such circumstances. We have positive experience of fulfilling and even overfulfilling plans with a reduced level of electricity consumption. We must watch the regimen and consumption of electricity in every factory, for every piece of machinery, and lathe, ensuring that they are not operating without being loaded. This must also be the current objective of all Communists and all the working people throughout the country, in every sector of the economy and culture. This is a matter in which the workers class, the peasantry, all the people must have their say. The decisions of the Seventh AWP Central Committee Plenum have mobilized all our people for greater and more fruitful efforts, as well as for a more perfect organization. Now is the time to have our say about these decisions in all fields of life.

Proceeding from this, all excessive use of electricity and water above the quota is inexcusable. Calculations are to be made everywhere, but particularly in some districts: Shkoder, Diber, Elbasan, Mat, and others, which up to now have consumed thousands and millions of kilowatt-hours of electricity over and above their quotas. Let it be clearly understood: Under the present lasting drought conditions, all excessive use will lead to an even more severe situation. In addition to the sense of thrift needed by all working people, citizens, economies, districts, and departments, immediate technical and organizational measures are required. Everyone is required to think of ways of saving electricity. Wherever it proves possible to work in two shifts, immediate and unhesitating action should be taken.

As a result of energy limitations, manpower will be freed in particular enterprises. It is absolutely essential for this manpower to be transferred to other work requiring no electricity, within or outside those enterprises. Some people will go to work in agriculture. This requires that people have a proper understanding and a high degree of readiness to go immediately to the new places of work allocated to and requires suitable organizational conditions for their profitable work.

The mobilization of the workers class, the cooperative peasantry, and of all working people is decisive in facing the situation that has been created. This must be the main objective of the work of the AWP organs and organizations. The state and economic organs, as well as the special staffs that have been created for this purpose in the districts and in the departments, must be up to their task and must exert strict control over the implementation of the objectives that have been determined. Led by the Communists, our workers will successfully meet this situation, thus honorably fulfilling the great tasks in this jubilee year of the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 10-17 Feb

AU1702184089

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 10-17 February reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Hekuran Isai, AWP Central Committee [CC] Politburo member and secretary; Simon Stefani, AWP CC Politburo member, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and minister of internal affairs; and Kico Mustaqi, AWP CC Politburo candidate member and chief of the General Staff of the People's Army, attended on 12 February a ceremony on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the Guard of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. (1900 GMT 12 Feb 89)

Adil Carcani, AWP CC Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, received on 10 February Jan Sterba, CSSR minister of foreign trade. (1900 GMT 10 Feb 89)

Vangjel Cerrava, AWP CC Politburo candidate member and Korce District AWP Committee first secretary, attended on 10 February a commemorative meeting in Korce on the 50th anniversary of the death of veteran communist Ali Kelmendi. (1900 GMT 10 Feb 89)

Hajredin Celiku, AWP CC Politburo member and minister of transportation attended on 13 February a ceremony in the city of Elbasan, at which a meritorious driver was awarded the title of "Hero of Socialist Labor." (1900 GMT 13 Feb 89)

Foto Cami, AWP CC Politburo member and secretary, and chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly, chaired on 14 February a meeting of the commission. (1900 GMT 14 Feb 89)

Iraqi First Deputy Premier Ramadan Ends Visit

Received by Zhivkov

AU2202174089 Sofia BTA in English
1720 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 22 (BTA)—The Bulgarian party and state leader, Mr. Todor Zhivkov, today pointed out the possibilities of raising Bulgaro-Iraqi cooperation to a qualitatively new level on the basis of the positive experience already gained.

At the meeting of Mr. Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, and Mr. Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and first deputy prime minister of Iraq, who is paying an official friendly visit here, the two sides expressed their satisfaction with the development of the relations between the two countries in the political, the economic and the cultural field.

It was emphasized that the new conditions created as a result of ending the war between Iran and Iraq and the restructuring implemented in Bulgaria are an important prerequisite for lending variety to and extending the interaction between the two countries. The two leaders discussed a lot of problems of international relations and emphasized the role of new political thinking in bringing about positive changes in world affairs and replacing confrontation by cooperation.

Bulgaria and Iraq confirmed their desire to contribute to the peaceful settlement of all disputes between states and pointed out that Resolution No. 598 of the UN Security Council is a good basis for the settlement of the relations between Iran and Iraq. Mr. Todor Zhivkov and Mr. Taha Yasin Ramadan expressed their support for the just struggle of the Arab people of Palestine, its right to self-determination and the establishment of its own independent state according to the decisions taken at the latest session of the Palestine National Council.

The guest highly appreciated the peaceful foreign policy pursued by Bulgaria in the Balkans, Europe and in the world. Mr. Georgi Atanasov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and chairman of the Council of Ministers, was also present at the meeting.

Meets Journalists, Departs

AU2202204789 Sofia BTA in English
1858 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 22 (BTA)—After his closing discussion with the leader of the Bulgarian Government, Mr. Georgi Atanasov, Mr. Taha Yasin Ramadan, member of the Revolutionary Command Council and first deputy prime minister of Iraq, who left this country this afternoon, told a group of journalists that he is optimistic with regard to the future development of Bulgaro-Iraqi relations.

At a press conference held with Bulgarian and foreign journalists, the distinguished guest commended highly his two-day visit here and announced that he had presented a written message from Mr. Saddam Husayn to the Bulgarian party and state leader, Mr. Todor Zhivkov, that the friendly and mutually advantageous relations between the two countries are placed on a solid basis and that they are of a long-term character.

The 20th session of the Bulgaro-Iraqi Committee of Economic and Sci-Technical Cooperation held during Mr. Ramadan's visit, at which a number of measures aimed at extending and lending variety to cooperation in agriculture, the food processing industry, metallurgy and mechanical engineering were outlined, is yet another proof of the upgrade development of the economic contacts between the two countries. Besides, Bulgaria is to send to Iraq medical care specialists, especially experts in cardio-vascular surgery and rehabilitation. Iraqi medical care personnel will be trained in Bulgaria and Bulgarian teachers will work at Iraqi higher education establishments.

Taha Yasin Ramadan confirmed the views of Bulgaria and Iraq, stated also in the joint communique, with regard to Resolution No. 598 of the UN Security Council aimed at the achievement of just and durable peace between Iraq and Iran. The joint communique on the visit of the Iraqi Government leader points out that Bulgaria highly appreciates Iraq's positive attitude toward the international initiatives and expresses assurance that the peaceful Iran-Iraq negotiations will be completed successfully.

The guest underlined the identity of the positions of Iraq and Bulgaria on the Middle East problems and the conviction of the two countries that the crisis in the Middle East can be overcome only by settling the question of Palestine. Bulgaria and Iraq condemn the Israeli occupation, declare themselves to be for the exercise of the inalienable right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and for holding an international conference on the Middle East problem with the participation of all parties concerned and support the decisions of the latest session of the Palestine National Council for the proclamation of the state of Palestine. The joint document voices concern over the developments in Lebanon and it is pointed out that the only way out of the situation there is taking a peaceful path to the settlement of the problem on the basis national concord by preserving the unity, the sovereignty and the territorial integrity of Lebanon.

Bulgaria and Iraq commend highly the development of international relations and consider that it is provided by a further impetus by the initiatives announced at the latest session of the UN General Assembly by the Soviet party and state leader, Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1830 GMT on 22 February carries a similar report on Ramadan's activities and adds: "On 22 February, after their meeting, Comrade Todor Zhivkov gave a luncheon for Taha Yasin Ramadan, first deputy premier of Iraq"]

Zhivkov Receives USSR's Pyadyshev 22 Feb

AU2202161789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] On 22 February Comrade Todor Zhivkov received Boris Pyadyshev, chief editor of the Soviet MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN magazine. During the talk, Comrade Todor Zhivkov answered some questions related to certain processes in the contemporary world and to restructuring in Bulgaria.

Cultural Cooperation Agreement Signed With USSR

AU2202211989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Excerpts] A remarkable document permeated with the new ideas and the common striving to seek more efficient forms of cooperation, not only in the quantitative aspect, which already exists, but in the qualitative aspect as well—this is how Yuriy Tilchevskiy [name as heard], USSR deputy minister of culture, described the character of the protocol on cooperation between the Committee on Culture and the USSR Ministry of Culture for 1989, which was signed today. The guests pointed out that there still exist untapped potential for intensifying cultural contacts between the two countries. [passage omitted]

After the signing ceremony, Georgi Yordanov, minister of culture, science, and education, received Yuriy Tilchevskiy, USSR deputy minister of culture. During the talk, which took place in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, they discussed matters related to further expanding cooperation and raising it to a higher level.

Finnish Center Party Leader Pays Visit

Meets Mladenov, Ovcharov

AU1702210989 Sofia BTA in English 1957 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 17 (BTA)—At the invitation of the Standing Committee of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), Mr Paavo Vayrynen, chairman of the Centre Party of Finland, arrived in this country today.

There was a meeting between Mr Petur Mladenov, foreign affairs minister, and Mr Paavo Vayrynen. The Bulgarian foreign minister stressed that Bulgaria's consistent and peace-loving policy in the Balkans, in Europe and in the world is directed at the establishment of the peaceful mutual coexistence and of the new political thinking. He dwelled on this country's active participation in the all-Balkan and all-European process.

The two sides discussed also the development of the traditional friendly relations between Bulgaria and Finland to the interest of the dialogue and of active cooperation in Europe. The two countries' constructive policy was highly esteemed. The significance was stressed of Bulgaria's efforts for the setting up of a nuclear- and chemical weapon-free zone in the Balkans. Stress was placed on Finland's positive striving to the setting up of a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe.

The interlocutors greeted the success of the Vienna follow-up meeting of representatives of the countries-members in the meeting on security and cooperation in Europe. A common opinion was expressed that it is an important step forward to the strengthening of security and interaction on our continent and opens a new stage in the development of the East-West relations. The significance was stressed of the decision of the Warsaw Treaty member countries for unilateral reduction in their military forces as an act of good will.

During the talks between Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of planning and economy, and Mr Paavo Vayrynen it was stressed that the renovation and the company organization of the economic activity in Bulgaria open up new possibilities for this country's real participation in the international division of labour. The two sides expressed a mutual wish for the further expansion and deepening of the mutually beneficial Bulgaro-Finnish business relations. It was said that cooperation between the two countries is successfully developing and there are conditions for its enrichment and raising to a higher level.

Confers With Tanchev

AU1802191089 Sofia BTA in English 1833 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Sofia, February 18 (BTA)—The meeting which was held today between Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and first deputy State Council president, with Mr Paavo Vayrynen, chairman of the Centre Party of Finland (Keskustapuolue), was a confirmation of the successful development of traditional friendly relations between the two parties. At the time of the talks, information was exchanged on their activities at the present stage of development. The ways were considered for improving contacts between them, which contribute to the expansion of the political, economic and cultural ties between Bulgaria and Finland.

The secretary of the BZNS acquainted the guest with the reforms in all spheres of life and stressed that this nation-wide action is of historic significance for Bulgaria. He spoke of the BZNS participation in the renovation processes and in the fulfillment of the new agrarian policy.

The two interlocutors stressed that the BZNS and the Party of the Centre of Finland are welcoming the positive trends, which are a result of the new philosophy and strategy of peace and of the Soviet initiatives raised by Mikhail Gorbachev. It was pointed out that the two parties back the headway of the Soviet-American dialogue and consider the INF Treaty for scrapping of the medium- and shorter-range weapons as the first step towards a true disarmament.

Dwelling on the European problems, Mr Petur Tanchev and Mr Paavo Vayrynen marked the singular importance of the Vienna follow-up meeting of the representatives of the countries-participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. They indicated that the BZNS and the Party of the Centre in Finland back the efforts for disarmament and for building of a new international order based on the balance of interests.

Departs Sofia

AU2202122389 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 21 Feb 89 p 4

[Text] Paavo Vayrynen, chairman of the Center Party of Finland, who has been on a friendly visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of the permanent board of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS], departed on 20 February from Bulgaria.

At Sofia airport, he was seen off by Aleksandur Ivanov, secretary of the BZNS permanent board, and other members of the BZNS permanent board.

Klaus Kristian Snellman, the Finnish ambassador to Bulgaria, was also in attendance.

Human Rights Association Program Denounced

AU1902162689 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No 7, 15 Feb 89 p 3

[Veselin Yosifov article: "Democracy and Demagogy"]

[Excerpts] Press agencies reported the following item:

"Bonn, 9 February—The FRG Ministry of Foreign Affairs today declared the "National Assembly" neofascist organization, led by Rene Friedman, illegal, and banned its activity."

Press agencies introduced this item in our country, but did not carry any reports from our country.

FRG laws obviously require the authorities to declare organizations with anticonstitutional goals illegal, and ban their activity. None of us initiated a protest against the violations of the rights of these citizens who disagree with the established order in the FRG, while in principle it is possible for them to utilize the right to pluralism that exists in FRG society.

Indeed, everything could have been fine if the press agencies had not disseminated yet another item:

"Deutsche Welle Radio, 7 February (1230 hours). We shall read now with insignificant abbreviations the program of the Independent Human Rights Association in Bulgaria. This text was read to us over the telephone by the poet Petur Manolov from Plovdiv, secretary of the association."

Nevertheless, everything could still have been fine, if this program had not included the following:

"We are convinced that the Communist Party and its formal political appendixes...are dead bodies, fed and carried as accustomed by the Bulgarian citizens...."

And something more a bit further on:

"The initial pluralism can engulf our country as a spontaneous process and liberate us from the 44-year-old yoke!"

I ask: Is anything more needed?

What else?

The rest is redundant!

Since the noun "poet" is being used, it would be relevant to quote a verse by Visotskiy:

"They gave me freedom yesterday,

So that I do things with it!"

The preamble of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria asserts that we base ourselves on the "historical victory of the 9 September 1944 Revolution." Even the first article declares: "The BCP is the leading force of society and the state."

Must we say anything more? Must we read lectures on constitutional law in order to understand that the aforementioned program of the Human Rights Association contains two provisions which are clearly anticonstitutional? [passage omitted]

The socialist ideas cannot be erased by a sponge wet with pseudohumane tears. These ideas have been inscribed with blood and implemented with sweat. They have the amazing quality of constantly renewing themselves. Modern civilization would have been impossible without them. Without them there can be no civilization in the future.

Democracy cannot be replaced by demagogy.

"What compromise could there be with, say, the leaders of these formations, who, hiding behind demagogic slogans, are trying to push the people toward the road of lawlessness, anarchy, destabilizing the situation, and fanning differences between various nations! It is also clear that people are to be educated in the spirit of high political culture and the skill to live and work under conditions of democracy, which is incompatible with irresponsibility and lack of discipline." (PRAVDA 10 February 1989)

The renewal is a great thorn in the heel of demagogy.

'High,' 'Steady' Economic Growth Rates Reported

AU2202211689 Sofia BTA in English
1831 GMT 22 Feb 89

["High and Steady Economic Growth Rates"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 22 (BTA)—High and steady growth rates characterized the development of the Bulgarian economy last year. Despite the difficulties and the adverse weather conditions, the progressive changes in the composition of the economy continued, says a Statistical Board announcement on the results of the fulfillment of Bulgaria's Techno-Scientific and Socioeconomic Development Plan in 1988, which has been released for publication here.

In 1988 the country's national income increased 6.2 per cent over the 1987 level. The social productivity of labour grew nearly 6.5 per cent, and as a result of the resource saving efforts, the production costs per 100 leva's worth of industrial output fell 1.8 per cent from the 1987 figure. Power consumption dropped 5.9 per cent and metal consumption 3 per cent, and 2.3 million metric tones of reference fuel and 223,000 tons of cement were economized in comparison with the 1987 consumption.

As a result of the sparing use of resources and the increased volume of production, the economy (excepting farming operations) grossed profits by 1,600 million leva higher than the year before and showed a 5.6 per cent better profitability.

Bulgaria expanded her participation in the international division of labour, above all within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. This country's exports grew 4 per cent, with machines and production-oriented equipment reaching a 60.8 per cent share in their composition. A number of agreements widened the range of direct contacts of Bulgarian economic organizations with Western and Third World partners.

The announcement says that some deep-seated weaknesses of economic activity were not overcome last year, either. Certain enterprises failed to fulfill the government contracts assigned to them and did not meet the state plan targets for the output of crucial feedstock and materials, which in turn upset the operation of other enterprises and, as a result, impeded the supply of the home market.

Dramatically improved as they have been, the amount, the range and the quality of consumer goods and services are still lagging behind the Bulgarians' disposable income and purchasing power. A number of goods were not produced in the quantities required, a lower-than-planned number of dwellings was built, some production capacities were underutilized, and the labour, technological and contractucal discipline was not up to the mark. Certain manufactures unjustifiably raised the prices of their output, for which they were penalized.

The electronic industry enterprises increased their output 17.9 per cent, and Bulgarian electronics, biotechnological and chemical industry, heavy engineering, transport, agricultural and construction engineering between them accounted for 39.9 per cent of the total industrial production.

The allocations for facility updating were up 30.7 per cent over 1987. Another 465 mechanized and automated flow lines, 162 manufacturing-process automatic control systems, 1,702 technological-parameter control systems, 95 automated data-processing systems etc., went into operation. The number of computers rose by 46.6 per cent, and the number of personal computers alone by 48.4 per cent. A total of 12,800 assignments for new technologies and products were fulfilled.

The consumer goods produced in 1988 were 203 million leva ahead of the 1987 level. The increase was 3.3. per cent for cotton fabrics, 7 per cent for floorings, 8.2 per cent for bathroom fittings and other consumer goods.

The adverse weather conditions, which persisted in 1988, had a negative impact on the volume and the quality of the farming produce, the announcement says. The 8,392 million leva agricultural output in 1988 fell by some 500 million leva short of the the annual plan target.

The production of cereals totaled 7,965,400 tons. More wheat and barley were grown, but the crop of maize, of sunflower (367,100 tons), cotton (13,600 tons), tobacco (91,500 tons), sugar beet (676,800 tons), tomatoes (808,900 tons), peppers, apples (314,200 tons) and grapes (928,800 tons) was lower than planned. As result of the delayed harvest, partial crop losses were sustained in sugar beet, grapes, apples, grain, maize and some vegetables.

The farmers put 113,190 hectares of land to wheat and 338,700 hectares to barley. The size of the overall area put under wheat is 24,000 hectares smaller than that harvested in 1988.

The value of stock-breeding production totalled 4,685 million leva, which was 0.1 per cent more than in 1987. Meat production grew 1.9 per cent and egg production 0.9 per cent, but milk yields were 0.2 per cent down.

The national agro-industrial complex produced 561,000 tons of meat, 134,000 tons of meat products, 146,000 tons of cheese, 24,000 tons of butter, 1,217,0;2 tons of flour, 36,000 tons of rice and 360,000 tons of sugar, among other foodstuffs.

During the year, 419 million leva were added to the public consumption funds which reached a per capita amount of 971 leva, as against 925 leva in 1987. The largest outlays were made for health care and education, up 5.4 per cent and 5.1 per cent, respectively, over the year before. 4.6 per cent more money was paid out in pensions, welfare benefits and grants.

By the end of 1988 Bulgaria had a population of 8,985,800 and a natural population growth of 1.1 per 1,000, up from 1 per one thousand in 1987. The average life expectancy is over 71 years. A total of 116,800 children were born in 1988. Infant mortality per 1,000 live births dropped from 14.7 in 1987 to a national record low 13.5 in 1988.

Material production lost 0.2 per cent of its manpower, and the non-production sector signed on 1.4 per cent more employees. The blue- and white-collar workers received an average wage of 246 leva, which was 12 leva more than in 1987. Real per capita incomes grew 3.4 per cent from the 1987 figure.

The number of self-employed people, working in retailing, public catering, consumer services, taxi transport and elsewhere under Council of Ministers Decree No. 35/1987, reached 47,000 by the end of 1988.

A total of 15,500 students graduated from the institutes of higher learning in 1988, along with 77,200 high-school leavers and 26,700 vocational school graduates. The total school enrollment in Bulgaria at the beginning of the academic year 1988/89 was 1,234,900 pupils.

Seven new health care establishments were opened in 1988, the number of hospital beds increased to more than 88,000 at the end of the year. On the average, there are 30 medical doctors and seven dentists for every 10,000 Bulgarians.

The number of overseas visitors to Bulgaria last year was 9.2 per cent up on 1987, and the 340,000 hotel, campsite and motel beds included a 3.8 per cent increase over 1987.

A total of 375 million leva were invested in environmental protection. 256 air-, water- and soil-pollution-control, waste-free technology and noise-suppression projects were completed during the year. Erosion control measures covered 56,000 hectares of land, more than 1,400 hecatres were recultivated and 7,000 hecatares were reclaimed. Biological and integrated controls were introduced on nearly 1,300,000 hecatres of land. 354,000 hecatres were afforested. Another 18 natural sites were declared legally protected areas.

'Roundtable' Sessions in Poland Analyzed

AU2002151189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 19 Feb 89 p 4

[Boris Dankov article: "Poland—In Circle of Problems]

[Text] The "roundtable" talks in Poland have been going on for 3 weeks. After the first sessions of the working commissions, some of the subcommissions also joined the debate. The first "synchronization of the watches" showed not only the differences of opinions, but also outlined the positions of the sides.

These differences and positions emerged to a certain degree in the subcommissions' discussion of specific issues. It is difficult to predict what the real chances of coming closer together are. Usually the local commentators assess the talks with "contained" optimism.

Measures to tame the inflation and the growth of wages and prices are part of the trends of the plan to stabilize the economy which has been presented. These measures are assessed with various degrees of criticism by the representatives of the trade unions, who think that the plan to stabilize the economy must be specific and free of "abstractions." The representatives of the "independent circles," as the so-called constructive opposition has been called recently, also criticized the plan at the last meeting of the commission on economic problems and social policy. According to them, the only way to overcome inflation is the so-called indexation of wages, which envisages a direct connection between the growth of labor wages in a given branch with their growth in other branches.

The differences in the approach toward finding a solution to the exceptionally sharp and painful issue, connected with setting the wages, have been clarified. According to the representatives of the so-called independent circles, it is enough to introduce indexation of the wages to neutralize the social pressure in the country, kindled by the pressure to increase wages in the enterprises. Government representatives countered this proposal with their own arguments. According to them, the introduction of indexation could become the brakes of the economic reform, block the connection between wages and concrete results of labor, and negatively influence inflation.

The discussion of this problem under intense pressure to increase wages in the enterprises conveys to a certain degree its acuteness. It is not difficult to understand the potential threat hiding behind the situation.

The second meeting of the commission on trade union pluralism took place during the week. During the debate, the representatives of the so-called independent circles repeated their demand to legalize "Solidarity" on the basis of "minor amendments" to the 1982 Law on the

Trade Unions. For their part, the trade unions confirmed their demand for trade union pluralism "without outside pressure," and for letting the labor collectives solve this issue.

The participants in the meeting confirmed the establishment of two working commissions, which will prepare amendments to the Law on the Trade Unions and work out a new law on registering a new peasant trade union. The basic issue still to be discussed is whether "Solidarity" is to be legalized or registered as a new trade union. Obviously, this is not only a matter of procedure, but also a political issue. The answer to this issue will also be the answer to the question of whether the declared "constructive spirit" will prevail, or whether the matters will return to the well-known political stereotypes of the recent past. The Polish working people and general public do not hide their concern that those stereotypes could be revived.

The strike wave, which has recently engulfed more than 22 enterprises in the country, also evokes serious concern. Most of those strikes are described as economic; however, it is not difficult to understand that their intensification is political to a certain degree. This is the source of the justified concern that this "hot wave" during the winter could negatively affect the "roundtable" talks as well as the situation in the country. The truth is that some of these conflicts have been eliminated, but others emerge in their place. In all cases, the slogans of the striking workers are connected with the demand to increase wages.

These circumstances outline not only the uneasy road of the "roundtable" talks, but also the difficulties in the dialogue on seeking a compromise and reaching a national agreement. Raising political and social tension evokes justified concern about the calm in the country and the way out of the complex and difficult problems, the solution of which is impossible without agreement among the different political forces. The basic issue on the agenda is whether there is a real basis for reaching a mutually acceptable national agreement.

Balkan Cooperation Committee Reviews Year's Work

AU1802200089 Sofia BTA in English
1857 GMT 17 Feb 89

["Strengthening of Good-Neighbourliness"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 17 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Committee on Balkan Understanding and Cooperation, as a specialized body for information and propaganda activities in the Balkans, has realized in 1988 about 160 initiatives of international character, as it was said today at the committee's annual meeting.

This years' plan which was adopted envisages various initiatives for explaining among the masses in the other Balkan states Bulgaria's foreign policy. Particular attention is to be paid to the practical actions which our country will undertake for the fulfillment of its duties from the agreements of the Balkan States' foreign affairs ministers' meeting in Belgrade.

The members of the committee were acquainted also with the results of the meeting of top-level representatives of the Balkan states foreign affairs ministries in Tirana.

Austria To Establish Enterprise in Bonded Area

AU2202121289 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
22 Feb 89 p 7

["ho" report: "Austria as a Pioneer in the Bulgarian Bonded Area"]

[Excerpt] Vienna—An Austrian commercial firm that is concerned with transit business was the first Western enterprise to sign an agreement on the establishment of a company in the Bulgarian bonded area of Ruse, on the Danube. This was announced by the trade councillor of the Bulgarian Embassy in Vienna, Emil Doynov, during a news conference held on the occasion of the Plovdiv fair. Negotiations with other companies from Austria, Finland, and Great Britain are under way. The bonded area of Ruse is an independent trading partner. Special initiatives are expected to arise from the completion of the Rhine-Main-Danube Canal in 1992. [passage omitted]

Vaclav Havel Statement at Trial Condemned

LD2202185489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Dagmar Cermakova commentary]

[Text] [Announcer] Dagmar Cermakova comments on yesterday's trial of Vaclav Havel in Prague:

[Cermakova] If it weren't for the fact that the judge had to forbid the taking of notes in the courtroom because the interpreter for the ASSOCIATED PRESS reporter had a voice that was louder than the court proceedings, it would largely have been a trial like any other—with one exception: the closing statement by the accused.

In it, in his very first sentence, Vaclav Havel indulged in polemization both with the words of the prosecutor and his own defense, because he said that no one has described the main hearing that is taking place as a political trial. Then, instead of defending his actions, he launched into proclamations concerning the activity of the so-called independent initiatives and Charter 77.

Closing statements by accused persons tend to be varied. Some do not admit their crime to themselves, and others are extremely sorry, but during my work as a legal journalist I have never met anyone who tried to make a virtue of his crime and even to try to grow in importance in this way. However, the planned attempt by the accused to make a political issue of the main hearing came to naught. If Vaclav Havel were not so fond of himself, then he would have been aware that his statement cast complete doubt over and directly degraded the closing statement prepared by his defense counsel.

Evidently, too many personal dramatics without good judgment can only do harm and definitely add to the work of the defense counsel of the recently tried Vaclav Havel.

60 Involved in Trials for January 'Unrest'

AU2302093989 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 20 Feb 89 p 3

["vp"-signed report: "53 Indictments Altogether"]

[Text] Prague—During the course of this week the court proceedings involving the participants and initiators of January's unrest in the center of Prague will take place before several judicial tribunals in Prague municipal district courts.

Altogether, the municipal district courts obtained 53 indictments and proposals for punishment. Of these, 32 cases will be resolved as minor offenses against public order, in accordance with paragraph 6, point A of law No.150/69 on minor offenses.

Various forms of criminal action involve 60 persons altogether. The overwhelming majority of the indictments presently lodged involve the criminal acts of assault on a public official in accordance with paragraph 155, Section 1 and paragraph 156, Section 2 of the Criminal Code. In several cases the indictments involve the criminal act of assault on a state organ and assault on an organ of a social organization according to paragraph 154, Section 2 of the Criminal Code and the criminal offense of hooliganism according to paragraph 202, Section 1 of the Criminal Code.

During the lodging of the indictments the following accused persons were held in investigative custody: Vaclav Havel (born 1936) of Prague, Jana Petrova (born 1966) of Dobruska, and Otakar Veverka (born 1956) of Gottwaldov.

7 Sentenced by Prague Court

LD2202235189 Prague CTK in English 2306 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Prague Feb 22 (CTK)—The district court in Prague 2 today passed judgement on Jana Petrova, Otokar Veverka, David Nemec, Stanislav Penc, Petr Placak, Jana Sternova and Alexandr Vondra and ended a two-day trial of the accused.

Jana Petrova was found guilty of hooliganism and assaulting a public official and was sentenced to nine-months imprisonment. Otokar Veverka was sentenced to a twelve-month strict jail term for hoologanism and for assaulting a public official. David Nemec was found guilty of hooliganism and sentenced to twelve-months' imprisonment suspended for three years and to a 4,000-crown fine. Jana Sternova was sentenced to four-months' imprisonment suspended for one year for hooliganism. Stanislav Penc, Petr Placak and Alexandr Vondra were sentenced to two-months' imprisonment suspended for two years and a fine of 2,500 crowns each for misdemeanour against the public order. The accused sentenced to financial punishment, i.e. David Nemec, Stanislav Penc, Petr Placak and Alexandr Vondra were sentenced to substitutional punishment of one-month's imprisonment in case they would mar the execution of this punishment.

Jana Petrova appealed against the judgement, the other accused did not express themselves. The prosecutor also appealed against the decision.

Charter 77 Spokesman Arrested

AU2202114789 Paris AFP in English 1118 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Prague, Feb 22 (AFP)—The trial of seven Czechoslovak dissidents accused of "hooliganism" entered its second and last day Wednesday as Western criticism of the sentencing of playwright Vaclav Havel started to mount. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, police arrested one of Charter 77's three spokesmen, Tomas Hradilek, Wednesday at his home in Lipnik, in the Province of Moravia, the group announced. He was charged with incitement to rebellion and harming the Republic overseas. He risks up to five years in jail, a Charter 77 source said. Tuesday's sentence against Mr. Havel brought immediate criticism from some Western countries. [passage omitted]

Officials of several international human-rights groups sent to Prague to observe the trials issued a joint communique protesting the fact they were not allowed to witness them because they were held in tiny courtrooms.

They called their exclusion "a clear violation of the Helsinki agreements and the final document of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, held last January in Vienna," which Czechoslovakia formally approved. Charter 77 said when police arrested Mr. Hradilek, one of its spokesmen, they also searched his home. The charges against him stem from two open letters he had addressed late in January to the government. The letters protested the repression of the Jan Palach demonstrations and other human rights abuses. Several foreign radios had quoted excerpts from the letters.

The party paper RUDE PRAVO on Wednesday published a resolution of the official union in Mr. Hradilek's workplace that "condemns the actions of anti-socialist groups," notably "the demonstrations hostile to the state" to honor Jan Palach.

Juveniles Arrested for January Bomb Threats

AU2202151889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Feb 89 p 2

["sed"-signed report from Usti nad Labem followed by "za"-signed report: "Further Culprits Revealed"]

[Text] Usti nad Labem (our correspondent)—Saturday's [18 February] edition of the North Bohemian daily PRUBOJ published a report that the police are remanding in custody a juvenile culprit from Liberec who is responsible for three anonymous telephone calls made at the end of January.

These calls concerned the Liberec department store Jested, the Plamen youth club, and the district fire station in Jablonec. Besides these things, he confessed allegedly planting an explosive in the secondary vocational school of the civil engineering works in Liberec-Pavlovice. Another juvenile is under investigation as a fellow culprit. The police also arrested a third juvenile who took part in threatening warnings to the Jested Hotel. All three are in investigative custody.

[Signed] sed

Citizens in the Litomerice area have recently also been distressed by repeated threatening telephone calls and anonymous letters. As the local newspaper PROUD reported on 17 February, a juvenile culprit from Roudnice threatened that the Agrozet plant "will blow up just like in Usti." When he was detained by the police he confessed that he wanted to wreak havoc and that he was counting on the fact that he would not have to carry out any actions. However, on the basis of these threats members of the National Security Corps in Litomerice had to adopt the appropriate measures, and the regional bomb disposal expert had to discount the planting of an explosive.

[Signed] za

Adamec Addresses Slovak Youth Union

LD2302094589 Prague Television Service in Czech 2015 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Speech by Premier Ladislav Adamec at a meeting with the Slovak Socialist Union of Youth in Bratislava on 22 February—recorded]

[Text] When preparing for this aktiv we discussed its form and content with representatives of the Socialist Union of Youth. I want to say that I do not like formal meetings or superfluous discussions. I would not want to preach on the grounds that I am a bit older than you, and I do not like offering gratuitous praise or biased criticism.

The culture of the political work requires that we be able to speak openly, specifically, and in a matter-of-fact way. This is not always easy—as in real life, where not everything is good and there is no easy success. We must strive for the new and pay a certain price for it. Progress must be merited by our own work.

Part of society mistakenly believes that socialism is able to do everything, as though it has a treasure at its disposal to give away; that every wish can be fulfilled; that it is enough to rely on someone's goodwill, to send in a list of our demands, and so on.

This view might appear radical but, as a matter of fact, it has nothing in common with revolutionary spirit or with the interests of young people. The attitude of mere petitioners is not dignified. It shows a lack of belief in our own strength, an underestimation of our abilities. This causes serious damage, jeopardizes active relations, and leads to passivity and to the avoidance of responsibility. Indifference and a lack of attention to public, collective, and personal affairs impair the ideals of youth and threaten progress. Real youth means, above all, having the courage to create new things and to overcome obstacles with initiative, showing an interest in everything that is happening, and being irreconcilable toward untruth and falsehoods.

The state of our economy is often discussed. You know from your own experience that although our overall standard of living is good we cannot be satisfied with everything. With what should we be dissatisfied, above all? Briefly, with the efficiency of our entire national economy. Although we attain the planned rate of growth and the overall volume of production, we continuously lag in the most important thing: Our demands on materials and labor are disproportionately high. We are lagging in the quality of products, in the dynamism of scientific-technical progress, and in its contribution to the growth of the productivity of labor. That is the basis of the difficulties on the domestic and foreign markets, of the problems affecting supplies of materials and equipment and the financial management of enterprises, of the inefficient use of Czechoslovakia's material and spiritual potential. There are a number of reasons for this state of affairs, but their common denominator is the continuation along the extensive path, the effect of braking mechanisms, administrative-command methods of management, and unsuitable production structures.

Why is there so much speculation, so many questions and sometimes even antagonistic views about the restructuring program? Restructuring is, of course, only the figurative and graphic expression of the changes that we are experiencing and implementing. Reconstructing a house, especially on good foundations and with a robust structure, always tends to be more difficult than building a new one. We have good foundations on which to build, but we also have quite a lot that needs to be knocked down, and we must clear up anything that has stood the rigors of life and the test of truth, and clear away space for us to be able to live more comfortably. Some things are, but a lot is not predetermined. There are those who shrink from taking risks and retreat in the face of obstacles, who would rather live in cramped conditions, either out of indolence or because of a lack of confidence in their own strength or their ability to build something better. However, we cannot agree with those who would rather knock everything down and build something completely different from scratch. This kind of radical restructuring might seem attractive at first, but in fact writing off more than 4 decades of socialist construction would necessarily mean a big step backward, a return to conditions that were overcome a long time ago. That is why this point of view is unacceptable to us, and on this there can be no discussion. We have chosen the socialist path, and practice has shown that this was the correct decision.

Why, though, are we calling so energetically today for fundamental changes and necessary reforms when, for example, 40 years ago we introduced a particular system of centralized management and planning, of relations between ministries and enterprises? At that time this system fundamentally matched the conditions of the then existing level of understanding, and the customs of the time. Later, however, it became an increasingly strong brake on technical and organizational progress, and a barrier to the people's work and to political activity. Not everyone realized in good time that this was a temporary form of management conditioned by history which would have to be fundamentally altered in the interests of socialism. For a long time the idea gained ground that the principles that had been declared were infallible. The dogmatic view was asserted that the methods of management and planning introduced at one given time expressed the essence of socialism, and that they could not be changed. Many examples could be given of how greatly we are paying for the unwillingness or inability to change ingrained practices. However, those who lump together everyone who had a part in something or other in the past and put their names to it and then accuse them of being unwilling to implement restructuring—such people are wrong. In the same way, our government has been accused of being unwilling to introduce reforms.

In our policy statement we set out a program of the accelerated restructuring of the economic mechanism, and of speeding up social changes. It took our opponents at home and abroad some time to muster their wits again after such false prophecies, and to find their bearings. We expected them to exploit every opportunity to call our intentions into question. The problems, the signs of misunderstanding, the provocations and slander will not make us nervous and will not deter us; on the contrary, we intend to pursue the path of restructuring, democratization, and profound social reforms on which we have embarked even more consistently, more militantly, and more decisively. We are in favor of open, democratic dialogue with the people, but we do not think that petitions are the best means to this end.

We do not deny anyone the right to also express their view freely by this means, but wouldn't joint talks, an open meeting of views, and seeking points of view acceptable to both sides be better? I prefer to choose the kind of dialogue that unites people in joint creative work. I consider it crucial to win over people whom, despite certain differences of opinion, I value. The artificial whipping up of controversial viewpoints by means of campaigns and foreign radio stations does not help the cause of restructuring in any way.

We know that people will not judge us by our good intentions, but above all by concrete results. That is why we, the government, pay such great attention to carrying out what we have resolved, what we have pledged ourselves to do, and what we have promised, but this does not depend solely on our will.

People play the deicisive role in implementing even the best programs—people who understand them, adopt them as their own, stand behind them, and who, in their own interest, strive to breathe life into them. That is why we devote time and effort to explaining our policy. We publish extensive communiques from the government sessions, we put many things on television, ministers appear in the media more often, and finally, the aktiv and others that are being planned in various regions bear witness to the importance we attach to public information. We consider it our duty to enable citizens to better understand the goals of the policy of the socialist state, to take a more effective part in the creation and control of government policy.

Even though there are different views on the tempo and methods of introducing restructuring, very few people are indifferent. I am convinced that the course mapped out by the CPSU has international validity and that it is, also in our conditions, the only real path for successful progress. Despite this, I would like to warn against illusions about the ease and speed of the fruit it can bear. Why? Above all, because we are a bit late in correcting shortcomings, in changing the methods of building socialism and of thinking about people. Old sources of growth and the present organizational forms and styles of work long ago exhausted their possibilities. I do not agree, however, with pessimistic views that claim it is too late for a renewal, to turn around and embark on the path of dynamic development. On no account, however, can we afford to lose time. We must speed up the tempo and solve things on the march. We have already lost more than a little but we have the opportunity of reversing unfavorable developments.

We cannot expect restructuring to solve things for us, as if we will simply sit down at a well-laid table and enjoy the fruits that were grown for us by someone else. The desire to know what restructuirng will bring to individuals and collectives, what kind of benefits they will derive from it, and what will change for the better at their workplaces, homes, or in their families, is understandable. However, we must say openly to everyone that this depends above all on them personally, on their understanding, hard work, and knowledge. The new economic mechanism will enable us to make better use of education, of quality of work, of inventiveness, and of discipline. It will also bring the need for a more flexible adjustment to change in production programs and qualification requirements.

I would like to praise the fact that the majority of young people have a good attitude toward the program of revolutionary restructuring. We are glad that they sincerely identify with it and express a willingness to support it with their own efforts. This is where the irreversible nature and future of this course lies. It is not possible, however, to rely simply on enthusiasm, to build on words, assurances, and slogans. There have been so many of these in the past that they made light of many an idea, or many a great idea.

When we speak about socialist renewal we are thinking precisely of returning to the original meaning and true values of all socialist principles. We are against barren moralizing. Revolutionaries took pains to ensure that there was full harmony between words and deeds. We sincerely support the efforts of the young for high morality in politics and in the whole life of society.

All of us, from the federal government down to management workers of businesses and workshops, have many concerns about the present economic situation. Sometimes we are more concerned about one thing, and at other times about another. But almost nowhere are things totally in order. We do not promise anyone that we have guaranteed recipes for the immediate solution of all difficulties. What do we consider to be fundamental? That all our efforts should really lead forward, should attain the required effect and satisfaction to the spirit. The worst thing is to do useless work, to expend energy without effect, to lose hope of improvement, and not to have a future. There are many indications that such phenomena are also manifesting themselves among the young. We consider this to be a very serious sign.

An administrative-command system of management and bureaucracy with its characteristic manifestations have played a very negative role in this, promoting mediocrity, offering insufficient opportunity to excel, slow cadre movement, low motivation for high achievement, and little incentive for improving qualifications. At the same time, we also have to deal with outdated orientations toward quantitative growth, toward the simple reproduction of existing production and organizational relations, of the achieved technical level of production. The lagging behind the fast rates of development of the most developed countries also has a negative effect. The complicated nature of the economic situation is increasing the interest of the young generation in the future of our state. We are aware of our extraordinary responsibility to work out the best possible long-term socioeconomic program.

The overall prognosis for Czechoslovakia up to the year 2010 is currently being worked out. We do not see the importance of this document lying only in the future that it offers our country and in its scientific explanation. In our view, its greatest importance lies in the fact that it is working out a very specific plan of action—what the highest party and state organs will have to do this year, next year, and in the Ninth 5-Year Plan period in order for our country to again occupy one of the prominent places in Europe. The tradition and greatness of our production and spiritual potential commits us to placing this lofty target ahead of us.

We know that the path will not be easy. However, we believe that the incoming generation cannot be offered a program of overcoming backwardness in small steps and with cosmetic changes. We are convinced that young people will give their full understanding and support to our aims.

We cannot secure a good future for our country and for its inhabitants in the approach to 3d millenium and the following years by individual steps, even if they are radical. The possibility of organically linking the course of action in all basic directions will be of key importance. This will be done by the continuous adaptation of the economic mechanism to the new tasks and needs—social, economic, and cultural; by bringing the structure of the economy into line with our natural economic resources as quickly as possible, taking into consideration the criteria of economic and ecological efficiency; and by a wider and more efficient involvement in the international division of labor and in the future socialist social market through purposeful integration with the economy of the Soviet Union.

The recent talks that our delegation held in Moscow, the signing of the accord on scientific-technical cooperation between the CSSR and the USSR for 15 to 20 years, and agreements on ecological cooperation create favorable conditions for this. We agreed that the structure and forms of our economic relations must be adapted to the new conditions of scientific-technical progress, to restructuring the economic mechanism, and to the increased tasks of industry. We have secured energy and other raw material resources for the next 5-year period. We have taken important steps in specialization. Certainly, a lot of work lies ahead of us for implementing these agreements. We can rely upon the support and full understanding of the highest Soviet representatives.

Comrades, although very complex tasks lie ahead of us in restructuring the structure of the economic mechanism, the restructuring of our educational system will not be any easier. We know that this is one of the politically most sensitive areas that concerns almost every family and all aspects of public life. In this sphere, too, a number of very serious signs of the lagging behind needs have become evident. These shortcomings are the results of poorly thought-out decisions or the too slow introduction of correct policies. These are not new problems but rather the consequences of the long-term underestimation of the role of education in socialist society.

Much has been said about the importance of school, teachers, and education, but the reality was often different. These are not only specific problems of individual types of school—for example, apprenticeship schemes, textbooks, or individual subjects. What matters is the overall organization, management, content, and methods of work of the entire school system in its interrelationship with other aspects of political life.

I do not want to speak about these issues in detail. They will be discussed comprehensively at the next party Central Committee session in a few weeks. Our ability to cope successfully with this weighty problem depends to a large extent on our ability to cope with all the others, above all, in the sphere of education. In the next 2 decades a battle will be waged for Czechoslovakia's standing in world competition.

Why does the preparation of young people mean so much to us today? The natural cadre movement has been disrupted to a large extent over the past 2 decades. Managerial structures have not been filled with sufficient young people. We have to begin to put this right, particularly in connection with preparations for the 18th party congress. We consider the most pressing and responsible task of all of us who are in leading positions to be securing the supply of cadres into party, state, economic, and social bodies and into their apparatuses. We are not only interested in lowering the average age but also in substantially improving the quality of all leading bodies.

Under no circumstances do we wish to continue having an administrative approach to the representation of young people in various bodies. In the past we set ourselves exact quotas, and the percentage achieved did not look bad. Real representation of the interests of young people, however, was of marginal importance. A lot will also depend on the activity of the youth collectives themselves, so that they are able to choose truly the best representatives, to be convinced of their qualities, and also to help them. This, naturally, also concerns the selection of young experts for the posts of directors, chairmen, and members of councils of work collectives.

We are striving to ensure that every young person knows what restructuring requires of him, where it gives him his chance, and what society requires of him at this time. A joint session last week of the federal government and the secretariat of the Central Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth concerned itself with these questions. There we showed specific directions and possibilities concerning how to give the youth and youth union collectives the possibility of creating an economic base for their activity, and by using this base to enrich their interest and activity in the scientific-technical, cultural, athletic, tourism, and other sectors. We gradually plan to jointly deal with other questions concerning, in particular, increasing the share of young people in solving the housing problem, in improving conditions for the use of free time, strengthening the family, and working out principles of state care for children and youth.

This should not be taken to mean that the government itself will solve the problems of young people and of organs of the Socialist Union of Youth. We can create the political, economic, legal, and organizational conditions for this, but the main issues rest with the young. There is great strength in youth collectives, a considerable potential for work, for political and social activity. Its mobilization will not be easy. The administrative-command method of management of society has taught—in addition to blind faith in the omnipotence of paper—a narrow, consumerist approach to life, hunting for and accumulating things more for prestige than for true need. The more active and thoughtful young people have found this difficult to bear and often condemned it. But it is true that for a certain section of the people it was quite confortable, and this is why they are not happy about saying goodbye to those days.

We have no illusions that people become followers of restructuring on the day that they are born. It is no secret that even among the young a whole spectrum of differing opinions exists; political differentiation takes place in youth collectives. We are concerned about a number of negative phenomena, in particular shortcomings in socialist conviction and patriotic feeling. We are interested in the patriotism of deeds, not in loud applause at gala meetings. To be truly fond of the Republic means to appreciate its successes and to take an active part in overcoming weak points. We strive to ensure that love for parents and for the homeland is deepened, that young people consider Czechoslovakia to be their homeland of which they must be good masters, increase its riches, and take part in managing their state, town, and village with an awareness of high responsibility. [applause]

Joint Soviet Communique Issued on Adamec Visit

AU2202110289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Feb 87 p 1

["Joint Czechoslovak-Soviet Communique" on the visit of Premier Ladislav Adamec to the USSR, issued in Moscow on 18 February]

[Text] L. Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the CSSR Government, was in the Soviet Union on an official friendly visit 16-18 February 1989, at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

M.S. Gorabachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received L. Adamec.

Questions of the development of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations and also several international problems were discussed in the course of the talks between N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and L. Adamec.

N.I. Ryzhkov spoke about the deep influence of the 19th all-union party conference on the social and political life of the country, the processes of restructuring, and about how preparations for the election of people's deputies are proceeding. Measures to bring about economic reform, the switching of all branches of material production to the principles of financial autonomy and self-financing, and the ensuring of balance in the national economy were described in detail. Great attention was given to extending the participation of working people in the management of the affairs of society, the development of democratization, and the creation of a state based on the rule of law.

L. Adamec discussed the progress made in implementing the economic reform, the changes taking place in the political and public life of the CSSR, and the decisions of the December 1988 CPCZ Central Committee plenum, which was an important stage in the implementation of the party's policy of restructuring and democratization. Priority attention is being given to carrying out the government's program statement of 8 November 1988, which was aimed at improving the machinery by which the economy is managed, increasing its efficiency, and improving people's working and living conditions on that basis.

The sides noted that the understandings reached during the meetings between M.S. Gorbachev and M. Jakes constituted an important landmark in strengthening the friendship between the Czechoslovak and Soviet peoples, improving all-around Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation, and ensuring its gradual development.

N.I. Ryzhkov expressed cordial gratitude to the leadership of the CSSR and to the whole Czechoslovak people for their great assistance to the earthquake-striken population of Armenia.

During the discussion of specific matters affecting economic, scientific, and technical links between the USSR and the CSSR, it was stressed that the implementation of the concept of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and the CSSR for 15-20 years, which was signed during the visit, will facilitate major structural improvements in production, the deepening of the processes of integration, and the improvement of the international division of labor.

Much attention was paid to coordinating the plans for the development of the national economies of the USSR and the CSSR for 1991-95, the state of trade and payment relations between the two countries, the further development of cooperation in machine-building, and the enhancement of the technical standard and quality of output supplied by each side to the other. A thorough exchange of views took place on ways to increase the effectiveness of joint efforts to implement the Comprehensive Program for the Scientific and Technical Progress of the CEMA Countries Up to the Year 2000.

The heads of government stressed the importance of further work to further improve the mechanism of bilateral economic cooperation. Having evaluated critically the state of development of new forms of economic ties, the sides paid particular attention to setting up more favorable organizational, currency, and financial conditions for interaction by Soviet and Czechoslovak enterprises and organizations.

The need for a further deepening of contacts in ideology, science, and culture was noted. The great importance of the program for ideological cooperation between the CPSU and the CPCZ signed in Prague in November 1988, which created a good foundation for expanding ties in the spiritual sphere and for mutually enriching and drawing together the peoples of the two countries on the cultural plane, was stressed in this connection.

A discussion of international problems confirmed the complete unity of views in assessments of the situation in Europe and the world. The heads of government spoke out in favor of further developing the process of real disarmament and of stepping up the collective search for ways to reduce international tension and strengthen general peace and security.

The participants in the talks appraise the results of the Vienna meeting as an undisputable success of the policy of restructuring in international affairs, as a point of departure for this qualitiatively new stage of the development of the Helsinki process, and a transition to the more active construction of "the common European home." The sides believe that it is necessary to work for a substantial and even reduction in the level of armed forces and conventional levels in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, and they attach great importance to the upcoming talks in Vienna on this range of problems.

The USSR and the CSSR will persistently strive to attain the implementation of the peace initiatives of the Warsaw Pact member states aimed at creating a climate of trust in Europe and at expanding close cooperation in all spheres. The Soviet side also expressed its readiness to in the future further the implementation of the Czechoslovak proposal put forward by M. Jakes on creating a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations on the territory along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact and NATO member states. A positive appraisal has been given to the initiatives taken by the CSSR Government aimed at developing international cooperation in the ecological sphere.

The USSR and the CSSR confirmed their desire to actively further a political settlement of seats of tension and conflict existing in the world. The sides urged a speedy settlement of the situation in Afghanistan by way of establishing an inter-Afghan dialogue and by way of creating a broadly based representative government with the participation of all the political forces and groupings.

The resolve to continue to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and to further improve their cooperation in the international arena in the interests of consolidating universal peace and security was expressed during the talks.

L. Adamec invited N.I. Ryzhkov to make an official friendly visit to the CSSR.

The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

An agreement between the Government of the USSR and the Government of the CSSR on cooperation in environmental protection was signed during the visit.

The talks passed in a cordial and comradely atmosphere.

Expert Favors Continuing Price Policy, Subsidies

AU1502185589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Feb 89 p 3

[Article by Professor Otto Reinhold, rector of the Academy for Social Sciences of the SED Central Committee: "Social Policy, Prices, and Subsidies"—"from a GDR II radio program"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] The price policy issue plays a major role in the intensive and comprehensive discussion on further shaping the socialist society in our country. The point above all is whether it is correct and possible to maintain price stability with regard to basic necessities, housing rents, and rates beyond the eighties by means of comprehensive subsidies. [passage omitted]

To arrive at a well-founded answer, we must find out what it would mean if these subsidies were to be cut. Four aspects have to be considered.

First. Between M50 billion and 60 billion annually are spent from the GDR budget to keep prices stable. If this sum were to be cut, the cost of living would rise by precisely this amount of M50-60 billion. That would mean price increases of between 20 and 400 percent.

People say that these means could be used to increase wages, salaries, old-age pensions, and scholarships accordingly. Then the price level and the purchasing power would increase by the same sum. Viewed globally, that may be correct. But a global solution is of little use; the individual and the individual family are always affected. No matter what principles would be thought up for a relevant wage increase, it will always have a varying effect on individual citizens, groups, and sectors. As all examples of certain socialist countries have shown, the low-income groups and sectors, in particular the pensioners, have to bear the biggest disadvantages. At any rate, it would entail a redistribution of the national income, which has nothing to do with social justice.

An Endless Price-Wage Spiral?

Second. If we decide to set all prices on the basis of actual expense, this is not a one-time-only affair, but must be carried out every day and every year according to this principle. Otherwise, we would again have high subsidies after a certain time. However, that means in practice that every increase in expense would be bound to lead to price increases. This would be the case, for example, if the world market prices for raw materials and food were to rise at an excessive rate, as they did last year.

In order to prevent the living standard from going down, wages and other forms of income would then also have to be increased at a corresponding rate. Thereby, an endless price-wage spiral would be started which, in turn, would entail many injustices, because it is impossible to raise all types of income permanently.

Third. Rents covering expenses touch upon a basic position of our social concept. In our policy we proceed from the consideration that in the socialist society of the GDR apartments at reasonable rents are a basic element of social security and the socialist way of life. We thereby implement an old goal, a great ideal of the worker movement. That includes the principle that an apartment must not be dealt with like merchandise, with all the factors that this involves. Otherwise our housing program and our housing policy would not be feasible at all.

However, the SED's housing construction and housing program are an essential element of our ideas of socialism. They are determined by our social goals, and that must remain so.

Fourth. Finally, we must not fail to see that cutting the subsidies of M50-60 billion would entail a substantial devaluation of savings deposits. Savings deposits of M100 would not be the same any more prior to and following such a liquidation of subsidies. However, nobody is in a position to find socially equitable compensation.

A Socially and Politically Dangerous Path

To stress it once again—the problem here is not some price or another, or whether it can be improved or not. The problem is much rather what concept we are pursuing. If we consider all the effects and consequences on a solid scientific basis, it is obvious that a basic change in our present course would lead to an essential revision of the unity of economic and social policy, and thus of our ideas of socialism. Such a path would be socially and politically dangerous. Upon serious consideration, nobody can be interested in such a course and such a revision. [passage omitted]

News Conference on Central Committee Session

LD2202233389 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 21 Feb 89

[Report by correspondent Attila Balint on news conference by MSZMP Central Committee Secretaries Pal Ivanyi and Gyorgy Fejti and "deputy spokesman" Emil Kimmel, during 21 February MSZMP Central Committee session in Budapest; speakers other than Balint unidentified]

[Text] [Announcer] The Central Committee session was still in progress when an international news conference was held by Pal Ivanyi, Gyorgy Fejti, and deputy spokesman Emil Kimmel. Attila Balint followed what was said there with attention:

[Balint] These news conferences after Central Committee sessions are becoming a tradition. We heard this as well, for over 100 Hungarian and foreign journalists took their places in the council chamber on the seventh floor. The participants in the news conference spoke first of all about their own agendas. Thus Gyorgy Fejti discussed the constitutionalization concept and Pal Ivanyi the importance, the necessity of transforming agricultural policy. Emil Kimmel spoke about experience in connection with the county party committee sessions and the county party conferences. After this, the participants answered questions.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified moderator] Hungarian radio, Attila Balint.

[Balint] I have two questions. One of these I could have asked a good 10 days ago, after the last Central Committee session [10-11 February, when the "traditional" news conference was canceled and the session was held behind closed doors]. The second one became really topical just 2 days ago. 1) People are saying, precisely in connection with the last Central Committee sesion, that the injured parties of the ungrounded verdicts of the fifties will or could be receiving some kind of rehabilitation or political amnesty. I do not know which concept is more correct. Is there any discourse about this among the party's leaders, in the party's leading bodies? My other question is: Since Sunday [19 February], we have known that the alternative organizations in Budpaest do not wish to celebrate 15 March together with the MSZMP and the PPF. They rejected these appeals. Does the MSZMP wish to formulate some kind of reply to this rejection?

[Answer] Very thorough work is in progress—with the participation of historians, politicians and lawyers—the object of which is that we should obtain a thorough knowledge of the road we have traveled and that we should draw all possible lessons from this. I think that the weighing up of the work of jurisprudence must also be an important element in the preparation of this historical balance. Above all, for the reason that we should draw political lessons, legal lessons, and that insofar as sentencing practices are concerned because of probably trumped-up [koncepcionalis] elements, because persons or groups suffered legal disadvantages, we should make an attempt, seeking precisely the possibility of consensus, for them to obtain appropriate compensation [karpotlas], legal rehabilitation if you like.

For this reason, our party's leadership has made use of the initiative toward the administrative and judicial organs concerned that there should come into being a mixed committee, consisting of historians and lawyers, which will review the period from December 1945 to 1962 from the viewpoint of what should be the subsequent order of procedure in the trials that supposedly contained—and I use this expression deliberately, for these have to obtain proof under the law—therefore, which contained supposedly trumped-up elements. We would ask, on the one hand, for your patience until this work is completed, and on the other hand, for society's understanding as well.

As for the question connected with the celebration of 15 March, I personally regret learning that this intention, which is not only the intention of the party, but also that of the PPF and the organizations belonging to it, and thus of the churches and nationality federations, and also the initiative of the KISZ, have met with rejection. I trust that this will not be the last word. We, ourselves, will take further initiatives in the interest of winning organizations over to the idea of a joint celebration. I would like to stress that in this regard we do not wish to use pressure, in either a direct or indirect form. Within the legal framework of the right of assembly, it is the sovereign right of any organization to celebrate this holiday [uennep] in a worthy and sober manner, either by itself or together with others.

Even so, allow me to make two further brief personal remarks, which perhaps will not be offensive to these organizations. One of them is that for years—and not unjustly, either, I have to say—we have been receiving reproaches from these organizations on account of the so-called arrogance of power [hatalmi arrogancia]. I would very much regret it if this arrogance of power, which is perhaps on the way out [muloban levoe], were to be replaced by another arrogance.

Otherwise, I myself hope that the celebrations initiated by the party, the PPF, and the other organizations, as well as by all other organizations, will be succcessful, peaceful, and uplifting.

However, there is one point in this initiative which says that the television building, which is located along the path of the procession, ought to be symbolically occupied, so to speak, on behalf of the people. To be honest, I am not enthusiastic about the idea, and I think that its authors are perhaps playing with fire. It will naturally be the job of the competent authorities to assess and to judge this conception. I myself trust, because there is still a very long amount of time remaing before the 15th, that sober, measured, and responsible conduct will have the upper hand. [end recording]

[Announcer] The news conference, as a matter of fact, was only an interim stage. We were given a promise that deputy spokesman Emil Kimmel will inform us again about the fourth agenda point, the personnel issues, after the session has ended.

'Text' of Central Committee Session Communique

LD2202213589 Budapest MTI in English
1855 GMT 22 Feb 89

["'Full Text' of Communique on the Session of the HSWP Central Committee"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, February 22 (MTI)—The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party held a session in Budapest from February 20-21, under the chairmanship of Janos Kadar. Apart from the Central Commitee members, the session was attended by the president and secretary of the Central Control Committee, the first secretaries of the county party committees and those with county party rights, the secretaries of the Budapest party committee, the heads of departments of the Central Committee, and leaders of the central press.

The Central Committee discussed and approved:
—the outline of the new constitution, submitted by Gyorgy Fejti,
—the proposal on renewing agrarian policy, submitted by Pal Ivanyi,
—the report on the major political experiences of the city and county party conferences and party committee sessions, and the amendment of several organizational procedures of the party movement, presented by Janos Lukacs, and
—personnel proposals submitted by Karoly Grosz.

xxxx

I.

1. The Central Committee heard a report on the re-examination of the current Constitution, and drew up its position on the proposed outline of the new constitution.

It stated that the re-examination of the Constitution, enacted in 1949 and amended in 1972, had been completed, in accordance with the resolution of the national party conference, with political and scientific debates and thorough professional work. The Central Committee agreed that a new constitution was needed for the tasks that face Hungarian society. Preparations for the new basic law, the constitution of Hungary, should begin on the basis of the outline, it stated.

2. The new constitution should be a law that is enforced as such, and which can be applied in itself in fundamental issues, without interposing other legal measures. It should rely on the lasting values of Hungarian statehood, dating back more than 1,000 years, and legal continuity, and the Hungarian and universal constitutional development, the results of more than four decades of our socialist society. It should express the fact that Hungary is a free, democratic and socialist state, and that its constitutional form continues to be a people's republic. The chapter referring to the socio-economic-political order should set down principles that are based on these values.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party does not lay claim to the constitutional declaration of its leading role. However, it wishes to fulfil a determining role based on political work in the management of society.

3. Human and civic rights and obligations should be presented in the new basic law in accordance with our national interests and Hungarian obligations accepted under international covenants. The notion of a constitutional state should also be fully enforced in the relation between state and citizens.

4. The constitution should create the institutional conditions of the modern state. It should express that the National Assembly—on the basis of the principle of sovereignty of the people—bears fundamentally important rights, but that it is not the exclusive trustee of these. It should set down that no single body or organization can be the exclusive possessor of power. It should ensure that, alongside legislative power, executive power and the power of the courts also operate with full sovereignty.

In the interest of all these, the Central Committee supports the proposals related to the new institutions: the introduction of the office of president of the Republic, the establishment of a constitutional court, the organization of administrative jurisdiction, and the setting up of the state audit office.

The Central Committee considers it justified that the constitution should make it possible to create an independent jurisdiction.

The constitution should guarantee the extensive operation of different forms of self-government. It is necessary constitutionally to ensure the autonomous management of the councils.

5. The Central Committee supports that the constitution should set down the national emblems in their entirety. It recommends that the coat of arms of the state be based on the traditional national symbols of Hungary.

II.

The Central Committee discussed the proposal about renewing agrarian policy, and stated:

1. Agrarian policy carried out by the HSWP to date—the bases of which were laid down by the agrarian theses of 1957—has been successful.

It has continuously and flexibly adapted itself to changing circumstances. It created large-scale units, indispensable for the boom of agricultural production, promoted the application of modern production methods and the advancement of small-scale agricultural production. Over the past three decades, agricultural production has doubled, and that of the food industry tripled. Food supply has steadily improved in the country, and has remained undisturbed for years. Hungary exports one-third of the foodstuffs it produces.

This policy has brought a revolutionary change in the life of the peasants and the Hungarian countryside, and our entire population enjoys the benefits.

2. The changes in the international economic situation, the errors of our economic policy, the serious problems of our economy and the social tension arising from these regularly make their unfavourable effects felt in food economy. The avoidance of these and the consistent furtherance of the economic reform process makes the renewal of agrarian policy imperative.

The Central Committee feels it is important that food economy continue to maintain its stabilizing role. Therefore:
—It should organically adapt to the new model of our socialist economy, in which the market becomes the comprehensive coordinating force,
—It is indispensable to improve further the standard of domestic food supply and to strengthen export positions,
—The qualitative approach should be enforced in all areas of production, and efficiency and income-generating capability should improve,
—The agrarian branch should continue to participate in the development of provincial settlements and should contribute to keeping the population of the villages,
—Greater care should be taken to safeguard and foster the national and human environment.

3. The party's renewing agrarian policy starts from the consistent enforcement of sector-neutrality, ensuring the equality of chances of those taking part in food production. Therefore, it is necessary to expand the forms of mixed ownership, and to create the economic and legal conditions for this.

The agrarian branch should fit into the general system of the entire economic regulation, while, at the same time, characteristics of the branch should be enforced.

4. The Central Committee decided to make public its draft position prepared on the basis of the debate, and to put it up for party debate. At the same time, it also requests the views of professional, scientific, interest-representation and other forums. The body will create and announce the party's agrarian policy in the first half of 1989, taking the experience of social debate into consideration.

III.

1. The Central Committee discussed the report on the political experiences of the city and the county party conferences, and the county party committee sessions following the national party conference.

It holds the emerging new work style, characterized by full openness, and the seeking of new, democratic forms and solutions, as favourable. The approved documents are in harmony with the position of the national party conference, and serve as a suitable basis for further work.

Experience indicates that the party conferences held to date assisted the formulation of new tasks and the working out of local programmes.

The Central Committee stated that the composition of the leading bodies has changed considerably in the wake of the party conferences, and the personnel conditions for the political changes that have become necessary are being created. Personnel changes, publicity and democracy have increased the confidence of party membership, and have created better conditions for movement work.

2. Experiences from party forums also reconfirm the determination of the Central Committee for the debates related to the fundamental issues of our social, economic and political life and the creation of the correct positions to be accelerated.

At its coming sessions, the Central Committee will continuously place on the agenda tasks related to the democratic and efficient operation of the HSWP, including the principal and practical issues of enforcing initiatives within the party, the freedom of criticism, views, opinions and debate, the new order of elections within the party, proposals on the tasks facing basic organizations in places of employment and residence, and modernizing the organizational structure of the party.

3. The Central Committee stated that the consideration and preparation of the necessity for party conferences elicited lively political discussions among party members. At the same time, it calls attention to the fact that prolonged debates can easily occasion the inward turning of the party movement at a time when one of the main tasks of the party is an active and everyday presence in the social processes.

The Central Committee decided that party conferences which wish to deal with the tasks arising from the position of the national party conference should be held by April 30.

IV.

The Central Committee [CC] also dealt with organizational issues.

1. The number of letters written to the Central Committee has recently considerably increased. These letters contain important observations and proposals with respect to the operation of the whole party, the work of the leading bodies, and the public performances of party leaders and officials. Therefore, the Central Committee has taken steps for CC members to be familiarized with the content of the letters so that they can take these into consideration in the course of decision-making.

2. The Central Committee amended the point of the organizational statute dealing with the admittance of members. It reconfirmed the sovereignty of the basic organizations in deciding on admittance of members, and eliminated the scope of authority of the directing party committees for the approval of admittance. The date of party membership begins with the date of the membership meeting that decided on admittance, and not from the day the membership card is received. Newly-admitted party members can exercise their rights from that date, and also pay membership dues accordingly.

The Central Committee decided on the following personnel issues:

—It relieved, at their own request, Imre Klenovics, retiring first secretary of the Somogy County Committee of the HSWP, and the Pal Losonczi, retired president of the Presidential Council, from their membership of the Central Committee, with due recognition of their merits.

—The body acknowledged the announcement of Istvan Stadinger that he would ask the National Assembly to relieve him from his post as president.

Berecz Warns Against Possible 'Civil War'

LD2202234189 Budapest MTI in English
2213 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 22 (MTI)—'The 13th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, which was a congress of desires rather than realities, passed erroneous and incorrect decisions', said Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, on Wednesday in Budapest. Mr Berecz was speaking at the party basic organization rally at the No. 1 ship unit of the Ganz Danubius company. He went on to note that the highest party forum started from the fact that they could envisage the enlivening of the economy and a slight economic growth. It therefore followed that the standard of living would improve for certain strata, and an anti-inflation policy could also be announced. It has, however, since been proven that efforts to implement the goals set made the problems more serious, as it genuinely occasioned the semblance of a certain enlivenment, while the debt doubled.

Mr Berecz discussed the problems of the political system, stressing that the HSWP is a party of an overly 'ideological' nature, which had drifted away from reality in the second half of the last 32 years. The reason this could happen was that it was a centralist, not a democratic party, starting from the principle of democratic centralism... another error was that the party had not modified its policy even amidst radically-changed circumstances. This was why a turn had to be launched in the HSWP. On the basis of discussions held on ideological theses and the reform of the system of political institutions, the leadership of the HSWP sensed that there was strength in the party membership to have a say in, and participate in, the shaping of policy and that they no longer wished to be the mere implementors of valid resolutions.

Discussing the evaluation of the past, which strongly occupies the interest of the party members, Mr Berecz stressed that the documents which came to light earlier dealt with the events of 1956 in a sufficiently diverse manner. Conclusions have been drawn only in part. He called attention to the fact that, if the political conclusions are not successfully drawn by strengthening party unity and in the spirit of national consensus, then a new division will come about in the HSWP, which could lead to an atmosphere similar to civil war. The lesson of 1956 should be learnt and borne in mind in the future. One of the main tasks of the historical sub-committee is to contribute to the drawing of these lessons, Mr Berecz said.

Stadinger Says Resignation Not 'Political'

LD2202160689 Budapest MTI in English
1444 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 22 (MTI)—Speaker of the Hungarian parliament Istvan Stadinger gave a statement to the press on Wednesday in the parliament building, relating to the statement he made the previous day, requesting to be relieved from his present post of speaker.

There is no specific political reasons behind my resignation, he said. As to my motives leading to this difficult decision however, I feel it to be my duty to inform the parliament first of all. This I will do on March 8th. Mr Stadinger also said that he will carry on his duties until the next session of the National Assembly, and that he is in good health.

Marosan, Kulscar Give 22 Feb News Conference

LD2202235589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Report by correspondent Gabor Bankuti on news conference given by Hungarian Government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan and Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar following a Hungarian Council of Ministers session on 22 February in Budapest; all remarks by Marosan and Kulcsar recorded]

[Excerpts] [Bankuti] At today's Council of Ministers session, the head of government [Karoly Nemeth] gave an account of the discussions he held with Austrian Chancellor Vranitzky, stressing that they unanimously agreed that cooperation must be continued in a considered manner, with extensive regard to realities.

The next topic was the situation and development of economically backward areas. The government has decided that by next year new regional development concepts must be submitted to the National Assembly. The government also believes that, in harmony with the renewal of the agricultural policy, a village development program should be elaborated.

The interior minister briefed the Council of Ministers on the details of the report he is drafting in connection with refugees, which he will submit to the National Assembly.

We now quote Government spokesman Marosan:

[Marosan] It was stressed at the government session that the refugee issue has become a problem in our domestic political life. The international response to it is also considerable. Although there is also a certain division among the public regarding the government's policy, the majority of the population supports the measures connected with the acceptance of refugees and the help they receive to settle in. On the basis of a proposal by the foreign minister, the Council of Minsters believes that Hungary should join the Geneva agreement relating to the acceptance of refugees and the New York protocol attached to this.

The government discussed a submission on settling the issues connected with the water and canalization charges. As you know, the government earlier made a decision on a considerable reduction of support, and as a consequence, on increased charges. The government is not going to put into effect the raising of water and canalization charges planned for 1 March. It has called on those making the submission to reexamine the complicated issue that demands a complex approach. It was stressed in the debate that water is a natural resource that we must manage thriftily, and the conditions for this must be created first and foremost.

[Bankuti] The two topics that aroused the greatest interest were the possibility of civilian service for those who refuse armed service on the grounds of conscience. In this connection the amendment to the National Defense Law and of the penal code will be proposed to the National Assembly. The government has also passed a resolution about reexamining trumped-up criminal cases, and it has appointed a commission to see this through. Kalman Kulcsar, minister of justice, briefed the participants of the international news conference that followed the session on these two topics. First of all we hear about civilian service. What is the essence of this?

[Kulcsar] The government will submit two drafts to the National Assembly; both starting with the question of how long someone is obliged to serve according to the Law on National Defense. According to one draft, a man must serve for 36 months, and this must be continuously, since there is neither justification nor possibility for this servie being fulfilled by redrafting reserves. The other draft suggests 30 months, likewise to be served continuously. Well, the National Assembly will decide whether to adopt one of these two variants, or whether to adopt a third variant, with modifications.

Connected with this is the elaboration of the content: namely what these drafted young men will have to do. Now, in this regard, the chairman of the State Office for Wages and Labor has been commissioned to work out the details of this service, and this must be in agreement with the Ministry of Socialist Welfare and Health, because, after all, a significant proportion of this service will probably be fulfilled through work performed in the health and social welfare institutions. The chairman of the State Office of Wages and Labor will make a statement in this regard in the National Assembly debate on the law, although the appropriate Council of Ministers' decree itself will only be discussed by the Council of Ministers around May, because this entire legal regulation will come into effect on 1 July.

It is very probable, and I would like to say this, too, that the content of this service will in the end have to be regulated by a law. However, with regard to its being brought into effect on 1 July, the government will ask the National Assembly to authorize it to make a temporary Council of Ministers' regulation, and the definitive legal regulation will come into being after the service, on the basis of the Council of Ministers' decree, when it has been evaluated, and we have the experience. The law itself will come into being on 1 July and it will be applied during the next call-ups.

[Bankuti] The justice minister stressed that in their evaluation of the civilian service they took care that it should not be of a punitive nature but also should not represent a concession either, as compared to military service. He announced that the prison sentences of those 73 persons, who had been condemned because they refused military service, will be suspended [felbeszakitjak] as of March. Then, if the National Assembly accepts the government's proposal, they will be granted pardons [kegyelmet kapnak] as of June. In the case of those against whom proceedings are currently in progress, the proceedings will be suspended, and if by 30 September they accept civilian service then, naturally, they too will be granted pardons, procedural pardons. The minister announced that the concessions relating to armed military service apply also to civilian service.

He told the participants that at today's session they modified one point of the government decree relating to the use of coats of arms. They expressly wish to make possible the use of the Kossuth coat of arms, which is spreading—and which has in any case not been banned even up till now—since it is a national symbol.

The justice minister said the government has decided to consider the show trials [szambaveszi a koncepcios pereket] and to take measures on rehabilitations [intezkednek a rehabilitalasokrol]. Until now, as a matter of fact, the rehabilitation has extended only to those who took part in the workers' movement. Kalman Kulcsar noted that in this matter he had been asked a question in the National Assembly. Therefore, it is there that he must give a detailed reply. It would be ill-mannered if he were to give a detailed account now. But, nevertheless, he pinpointed the essence:

[Kulcsar] What I can say now is that it is a question first and foremost of the fact that the committees entrusted by the government, and the cochairmen of these committees, have today been appointed by the Council of Ministers. They will examine those trial materials [peranyagok] and case records [periratok] in which with great probability there may be trumped up elements. These case records are the documents of proceedings conducted from 1945 to 1962. These are various trials. For example, from the earliest period, the so-called conspiracy trials, which were launched in connection with members of the Smallholders' Party of the Hungarian collective [kisgazdaparti magyar koezoessegbeli tagok]. They could be certain big economic trials, for example the (?Maort-Szerb) trial, to which I will return; certain church trials; trials of military officers.

I could list nine such categories, in which the reexamination is justified, after this first decision. And these committees will have to reexamine these trial materials; they will have to determine the trumped-up elements in these trials. In other words, they will have to find where people were innocently condemned. The conclusion of the work of the committees will mean that on the basis of the material produced the justice minister and the supreme state prosecutor will jointly propose a manner in which we should resolve the conclusion of these cases.

[Bankuti] As for the cases of the internees and deportees, these should be resolved because it was not a court that decided this matter. Rather, it was the interior minister who has been given the authority for settling these cases.

[Kulcsar] Several variants are conceivable. It is conceivable that a legal settlement [toervenyi rendezes] will be reached. Thus, with one law we should determine who and in what trials people were innocently condemned, and what consequences this now has. In certain cases it may be, if this is not sufficiently clear, that these cases should be concluded on the basis of judicial remedies [birosagi perorvoslat] or retrials [perujitas]. But a decision on this can only be made when the examination has been completed. The committees have been given 1 year to complete this work.

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[Bankuti] Does the government have some kind of agenda for giving information? The reason I ask is because it seems that recently the government offices and information organs output has deteriorated. I have two examples in mind. The Hungarian audience heard from Imre Nagy's relatives, via Radio Free Europe, about the discussion with the state secretary for justice concerning his burial, before the Hungarian press heard about it from State Secretary Borics. The other example was the case of the refugees staying in the embassy in Sofia who traveled to Vienna and from there to Hungary. The representatives of the press did not receive any kind of help or support from the Foreign Ministry in making contact with them, not even when the refugees stepped onto Hungarian soil. It is possible that the simple reason was that this happened over the weekend, when the Foreign Ministry spokesman was just spending his well-deserved rest and they forgot to authorize the duty spokesman. But this practice of giving information departs from the proclaimed policy on information. Is there any desire to call such things to account, or to avoid similar incidents? [passage omitted]

[Marosan] I will also reply briefly: the government is not planning any structural reorganization this year. As for your first question, I am not acquainted with the specific cases. However, when I read the papers, I do not get the impression that readers today are getting less information than, let us say, 1 or 2 years ago. But of course it is possible that parts of the state administration are not prepared, let us say, for the demand for information, for the hunger for information, which exists in the population, and obviously among journalists. I think that in time people will get used to this.

[Bankuti] At the news conference, government spokesman Gyorgy Marosan also announced that 7 November [anniversary of the USSR's Great October Socialist Revolution] will be a working day.

Threats by Stalinist 'Red Front' Group Noted

LD2302112489 Budapest MTI in English
0951 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 23 (MTI)—The Szeged organization of the Federation of Young Democrats and the Alliance of Free Democrats has been receiving letters, threatening retaliation against members of independent groups, signed Red Front by what is presumed to be a left-wing illegal organization. The Thursday morning issue of MAGYAR HIRLAP quotes Csongrad County police chief as saying: 'The existence of an illegal organization called Red Front is not known to the authorities, so the threats may be the brain-child of an obsessed Stalinist. Yet it is not impossible that an illegal organization exists that wants to provoke alternative groups. The existence of such a Red Front is, however, not probable.'

Independent Organizations Plan 15 Mar Protest

LD2002112189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Feb 89

[Text] In Budapest, the representatives of the independent, democratic organizations have approved the texts of three documents. They rejected the call of the PPF for a joint celebration of 15 March; they formulated the leaflet calling for an independent procession; and they approved the 12 points elaborated in a document entitled: What Does the Hungarian Nation Want? A Free, Independent, Democratic Hungary.

As part of the peaceful demonstration planned for 15 March, the independent groups plan, on behalf of society, to symbolically occupy Hungarian television in Szabadsag Square.

Among the 12 points elaborated in the document: What Does the Hungarian Nation Want, the participants in the Budapest event demand justice for 1956, and urge that 7 November be wiped off the list of Hungarian holidays.

Former Political Prisoners Form Association

LD2202233189 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 2100 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] The former condemned of 1956 have formed the Hungarian Political Prisoners Association [a Magyarrszagi Politikai Foglyok Szovetsege]. In their statement they have taken a stand on the side of consensus and national unity. The association of former political prisoners has elected a 10-member leadership. Its chairman is Jeno Fonay, and its deputy chairman is Ferenc Forgacs, who both spent 7 years in prison after 1956. The court has registered the association.

Statement on Bulgarian Embassy Refugees Affair

LD2202193689 Budapest MTI in English
1747 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Budapest, February 22 (MTI)—The Foreign Ministry has issued the following statement in reply to an MTI request:

Hungarian diplomacy made efforts, through various channels and on various levels, to reach an agreement with the Socialist Republic of Romania that was suitable to all sides concerned in the interest of solving, on a humanitarian basis, the fate of the refugees who spent five months in the Hungarian Embassy in Sofia. These efforts did not lead to results. A solution was made more difficult by the fact that international law does not offer the two countries a prescribed solution in such cases, and that the Socialist Republic of Romania interprets the international conventions on human rights in a way that differs from Hungary's.

Throughout its diplomatic efforts, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, given the Romanian refusal to take action, took the view that the affair could be settled only with active Bulgarian participation. It very much appreciates the assistance of the Bulgarian leadership, which was sympathetic to the Hungarian efforts, and its final decision which made it possible for the 12 to leave the Hungarian Embassy in Sofia on Friday [17 February], through the goodwill of the International Red Cross, for a third country, Austria, from where they arrived, at their request, in Hungary on Saturday.

The Hungarian Foreign Ministry expresses its gratitude to the authorities of the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Republic of Austria, and to the International Red Cross, for their approach and efforts, which took into consideration the difficult situation of the 12 people and which brought about the solution.

At the same time, the Foreign Ministry wishes to stress that it does not hold as expedient, or as an example to be followed, this method of leaving Romania or another country, or of remedying human rights offences.

Szuros Discusses European Integration Process

LD1802121489 Budapest MTI in English
1735 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Strasbourg, February 17 (MTI)—President of the parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, Secretary of the HSWP CC [Central Committee] Matyas Szuros—currently heading the visiting delegation of the Hungarian parliament, invited by the European Parliament—gave an interview to MTI's correspondent Denes Baracs summarising the visit and relations between Hungary and Western Europe.

On the purpose of the visit, Szuros reported: We wished to obtain information on the ways in which Hungary's adaptation into the European integration processes could be promoted, and how the relations could be developed. We also wanted to give an overall picture on the processes unfolding in Hungary, aimed at moulding a free, democratic socialist society.

Several questions relating to the political and economic situation in Hungary were raised in the course of the discussions, Mr Szuros continued. The issue of the multi-party system was raised several times, as well as the unfolding of democracy, elaboration of the new constitution, and the situation of the national minorities and refugees arriving to Hungary from Romania. Another item on the agenda of discussions was our relation to the European integration organizations.

In order to make further advances in the direction of the European Community, it is necessary to maintain our progress in our internal legislation for the attaining of a constitutional state. It is also necessary to bring about democratic conditions in Hungary, and assert human rights.

In reply to a question Mr Szuros said: We intend to be more open on international scenes. The orientation of our foreign policy in a single direction must be replaced by a balanced policy, making it equally important to develop relations with East and West. By this, we mean that we regard the alliance with the fraternal countries to be very important, which includes the vast market the CMEA and the Soviet Union provides. Simultaneously, if we are to accelerate Hungary's efforts in getting abreast with the level of the most developed industrial countries, we have to develop our relations with Western Europe and the European Community, as well. The condition to such relations is making Hungary a reliable partner. The events taking place in Hungary—especially the unfolding of democracy—are being followed with great interest and sympathy in Strasbourg.

There was also concern shown for the danger of the disruption of stability in Hungary, pointed out by Mr Szuros. It was emphasized on several occasions that the West does not expect us to distance ourselves from our political allies.

Question: The issue was raised on several occasions whether Hungary plans to become a member of the Community at a future date? Did this surprise you?

No, it did not, however my response was that first we have to implement the agreement signed last year with the European Community. They stressed that this was an agreement of advantages, although I myself am not particularly impressed by it. The reason is that I am fully aware that Hungary's GATT-membership should in itself ensure us a discrimination-free treatment, the agreement however stipulates quotas on the so called "sensitive products" until the year 1995.

In connection with this, however, there was the promise that, parallel with Hungary's increasing competitivity and continued reforms, the EEC will be ready to accelerate the abolition of this list. Naturally, we have to adapt to a greater force, a development community, in developing cooperation. This means that the first task is to give substance to this agreement, and it might even be supplemented in consideration of the Budapest-Vienna World Expo [Exposition]. In this context, a new expert cooperation scheme could be initiated in the field of transport infrastructure. As to the prospects for the period after 1995, it has to be considered whether it is possible for Hungary to come closer to the EEC as an associate member, like certain EFTA countries. The EEC is of the same opinion, for it is aware of Hungary's CMEA membership and its intention not to withdraw from this market at a time when they want to gain new positions there. Simultaneously, we have to adapt more to the West European integrational processes, both politically, in the spirit of the Helsinki process, and economically. As far as EEC membership is concerned, however, we see—as was mentioned in Strasbourg—that even the eventual application for admission of neutral Austria is judged differently in the organization, whose 11 members belong to the Atlantic alliance. Nevertheless, in a longer historic perspective, should we make progress in the field of disarmament and manage to eliminate the confronting military alliances of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, a new situation would come about in this area: The neutral status would be reinterpreted, and the rapprochment of countries which are no longer affiliated to the military alliance would be different. This is a more distant prospect, which would be part of an all-European integrational process, but to this end first we have to make headway in the field of disarmament, in the development of democracy and in the implementation of human rights.

Question: Besides its foreign political aspects, the visit had a new home policy feature. In the past, we spoke of concord abroad. Now, however, different views on certain major issues and occasional conflicting opinions were also expressed by the delegation.

On composing the delegation, we sought to represent the various committees of parliament, and considered the interest groups of parliament and the changing political system. The 8-strong delegation included three HSWP members only. It is quite natural at home that we make different approaches to certain issues. This was also manifest in our current talks.

I think the delegation was able to answer all questions that were raised. It had a greater credibility since it was able to represent the range of interest of the country and express the sweeping changes under way in Hungary.

Q: Is it a new feature in Hungary's external relations?

A: Yes, it is a new approach to international relations.

Views Visit Upon Return

LD1802235889 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] When visiting the European Parliament in Strasbourg, [MSZMP Central Committee Secretary] Matyas Szuros said among other things that it is conceivable that Hungary could enter the Common Market in the mid-nineties. This statement might surprise many people, so for this reason, Judit Vajek first asked the chairman of the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee about this after his arrival home.

[Vajek] Isn't our membership in CEMA a precluding or a debilitating circumstance for our joining the EEC in 1995?

[Szuros] CEMA membership is not a precluding reason; indeed, there is now an effort in Hungarian foreign policy to make our international relations balanced. This means that it is equally important for us to develop cooperation with the East and West. Thus, we do not want to withdraw from the Eastern market whatsoever. This would not be expedient, and it is very important for us. At the same time, we increasingly have to be incorporated into the Common Market.

Questions such as whether it is necessary, for example, to progress forward in the sphere of disarmament, also entered into the discussion. If, in a certain historical, and not too great a historical, perspective, we succeed in abolishing military alliances, this means that we are taking a big step forward in the sphere of rapprochement, both politically and militarily.

Apart from this, it is necessary to progress forward in the area of human rights, so through this we could approach the conditions. If we were to eliminate, abolish the military alliance in, let us say, a certain perspective by the turn of the millenium, this would mean that, for example, neutrality as it now stands would lose some of its significance, for every European community does not raise such conditions in relation to us.

[Vajek] Put in straightforward terms, does this mean that properly speaking, there is no condition?

[Szuros] Yet there are conditions. There are conditions; and these mainly are of an economic character. Apart from that, we have advanced a lot in our legislation, with the creation of the company law, and with the cutting back of bureaucratic restrictions, but there still are many tasks. Thus, the Common Market still has such requirements and demands in relation to us.

Walesa 'Astounded' at Government Offer

LD2202234889 Warsaw PAP In English
2210 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Lodz, Feb 22—During his meeting with representatives of workers from work establishments of Lodz region here today, Lech Walesa said that "we have to build Poland for our children or otherwise our great-grand children will not forgive us." He went on to say that on the part of the government the door had been opened so wide that pluralism can become a fact.

Walesa briefed the meeting on the "roundtable" debates and answered a number of questions. He also said that "the authorities had made such an opening that we were astounded. Therefore, I want to believe that the 'roundtable' will end successfully. I fear to think of what could happen in Poland if the 'roundtable' talks failed. In the name of responsibility for Poland we have to keep together while the reforms must and will come."

Walesa voiced an opinion that the legal "Solidarity" would be wiser, more effective and more creative. He also added that he would like to see factories free from political orientation and suggested that this goal should be sought.

In conclusion Walesa stressed he believed that it would be possible to do something good in Poland and his opinion resulted from the hitherto "roundtable" talks. There are many wise people in Poland who want to create better living conditions for society. Poland is facing such a chance.

'Sucked In' by Government Opening

LD2202193389 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1800 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Lech Walesa is visiting Lodz today. In the late afternoon, he met with his sympathizers in the LKS Sports Hall, along with representatives of opposition circles in Lodz and also of the central macroregion. Among other things, he said: Today we all must make a general confession. The problems are very serious and (?that is all there is) if someone or some group tries to achieve victory for its own interests. To the question of a young Lodz resident on whether he should boycott future elections, Lech Walesa replied: Today there are no arguments for a boycott. These authorities have made such an opening that we have been sucked in and bricked up [ze nas wciagnelo i zamurowalo].

The meeting is continuing.

Walesa, Miodowicz To Receive 'Victor-88' Awards

LD2202214389 Warsaw PAP in English
1854 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 22—Lech Walesa and Alfred Miodowicz are among ten laureates of the "Victor'88" granted in a plebiscite held each year by Polish TV and the Warsaw daily ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

Congratulating the "victors," Chairman of the Radio and TV Committee Janusz Roszkowski said here today that this year's ceremony was specific for an award for one programme went to two heroes: Lech Walesa and Alfred Miodowicz. "That those persons were distinguished should be viewed not only as a sign of direct recognition for the two, but also for the fact of them sitting at one table," Roszkowski said.

Water Supply, Sewage Workers Begin Strike

LD2202141289 Warsaw Domestic Service
in Polish 1300 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Workers of the water supply and sewage system enterprise in Zary, Zielona Gora Voivodship, began a strike action and demanded a pay raise of Z21,000 and the abolition of charges for water, sewage, and municipal services for the employees of the municipal economy sector.

The Confederation of Trade Unions' municipal transport employees' Presidium suspended a protest action until 1 March. The action was started by trade union members of 52 municipal transport enterprises. Jozef Drukier, the confederation chairman, said that this decision has been made because the government side had expressed willingness to commence preparatory talks on the new economic and financial system of municipal transport enterprises.

Paper Reports 'Illegal' Gathering in Krakow

LD2302140889 Warsaw PAP in English
1205 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 22—Another illegal gathering of youth was held on Tuesday at the central square Rynek Glowny in Krakow. The rally, organized by KPN (Confederation of Independent Poland), gathered some hundred youth bearing banners "Down with Communists," "Solidarity" and "Soviets go home." After a short meeting the protesters marched along the streets, said today's TRYBUNA LUDU daily.

The protesters, mostly students who skipped their classes openly violating discipline and showing disregard of their professors, disturbed traffic and forced drivers to bypass jammed roads.

Security forces prevented further, preplanned moves violating peace and order in the city, appealing to the gathered through loudspeakers that they should disperse. Among 23 most aggressive demonstrators who had their ID cards checked were not only university but also secondary school students, ZOMO Commander-in-Chief Alfred Lipniak told the TRYBUNA LUDU.

Miodowicz Interviewed on Trade Union Pluralism

AU1802204789 Warsaw KULTURA in Polish 25 Jan 89 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Alfred Miodowicz, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by Alicja Kos: "Let Us Not Feel as if We Have Lost"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Kos] Are you satisfied with the 10th PZPR Plenum resolution, which approved political and trade union pluralism in Poland?

[Miodowicz] Satisfaction is not the right term to use here. The question is not whether we are satisfied, but whether we consider this resolution to be justified in the present sociopolitical situation. I believe the resolution halfway meets the need to build a civic society by means of dialogue and accord with all constructive social and political forces in the country.

The essence of the restructuring of socialism, in fact of all the changes in it, is a departure from complacency and monopoly, including monopoly over human interests and over social attitudes. The class trade unions have always been open to various opinions, attitudes, and views. The Miodowicz-Walesa debate, which broke down the barrier of mistrust and impotence and provided a start to dialogue, is proof of our openness and readiness to hold dialogue.

[Kos] Your plenum speech was interpreted as a criticism of the party. Do trade unionists feel that the party has cheated them, "sold" them?

[Miodowicz] Only those who have been lost can feel sold. We feel neither lost nor weak. We will continue to speak the truth about the situation in our country, just as we have always done. We will continue to criticize the incompetent way in which the economy is run and suggest solutions. We will preserve our partnerlike position vis-a-vis the party. However, it must be said that party members and trade union members in plants think alike. So if we have ever criticized the party and voiced objections about it, we did not have the mass of party members in mind, but merely the decisions made by some leading party bodies. In the Politburo, too, I have often said that I represent the trade unions inside the party leadership, and that I say what the trade unionists expect me to say. I have never said that I represent the party leadership inside the trade unions. That pattern ended in 1980.

[Kos] In that case is your membership of the Politburo necessary?

[Miodowicz] The Politburo is an important decision-making body in our sociopolitical reality. We profess the principle that those who are absent are not right. We do not want to be absent in places where we believe our presence may help the trade unions.

[Kos] Could the party policy of openness toward "Solidarity" make you leave the Politburo?

[Miodowicz] Absolutely not. Only a policy that badly represents the interests of working people would make me do so.

[Kos] However, the plenum adopted a stance that broke your trade union monopoly.

[Miodowicz] I have said in the past that we should not lay claim to any monopoly. There was no such monopoly. Almost 4,000 trade unions do not belong to the OPZZ. However, what we are concerned with is a unification of work forces, not a division. We are concerned that work places should not become political battlefields, because that harms working people's interests. The plenum stance calls for a joint trade union council in work places. From the very beginning, we invited "Solidarity" aktivists to join our unions and even assume leadership posts, if that was the desire of "Solidarity" members expressed in free elections. It has always been possible for them to join us. I think that now there is an even better possibility of joint activity by various trade union groups in work places in order to represent and integrate the work forces for the sake of their interests and those of their enterprise. The organizational forms of this integration and representation can vary. This subject will be discussed at the "roundtable" and "mini-roundtables."

However, lest I be accused of avoiding the issue, let me recall that we have always opposed the idea of turning the trade unions into a political party. That is why we believe one should clearly differentiate between trade union pluralism and political pluralism. What is more, we are convinced that broad political pluralism is the basis of healthy trade union pluralism. Under no circumstances will trade union pluralism replace political pluralism in Poland. Attempts to do so would lead nowhere. We clearly said so in the resolution of the 9 January OPZZ Executive Committee session, and I reiterated this in my plenum speech.

I am sure the political stance adopted by the plenum will hasten an accord between Poles on the subject of the most important issue—how to reform our social, political, and economic system in a way that enables Poland to meet the challenges of civilization. This is a supreme patriotic prerequisite, to which all manifestations of parochialism and prejudice should make way.

[Kos] What are your wishes for the future?

[Miodowicz] To consolidate social control over the authorities. Then the authorities will not be able to make mistakes, and we will all possess a greater feeling of being managers over our country and responsible for our fortunes, for better or for worse. I believe such changes are essential. If they remain wishes and are never fulfilled due to a lack of reason or character on the part of various people, we will all lose. No one provides guarantees for the future in this world. These guarantees always have to be worked or fought for.

Miodowicz Questioned by Rzeszow Trade Unionists

AU1602123689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11-12 Feb 89 p 2

[Report by Ryszard Zatorski: "Competition, Not Confrontation"]

[Text] On Friday, 10 February, Alfred Miodowicz, PZPR Politburo member and OPZZ chairman, met with trade unionists of the Rzeszow transportation equipment plant and representatives of the trade unions of major industrial plants in the region. The meeting, which took place in the transportation equipment plant, was in the form of an exchange of opinions. Questions were put to the OPZZ chairman.

[Question] Strikers are receiving pay rises. But what about those who are not applying this form of pressure?

[Miodowicz] That is a paradox caused by the bad functioning of our economy and the trade union act, which allows the formalities connected with striking to continue ad infinitum. People are simply losing patience.

[Question] Are there any guarantees that the decisions reached by the "roundtable" will be observed?

[Miodowicz] There are no such guarantees, because everything that is expressed in words and desires must meet with the approval of the work forces. And what if they refuse to listen to either Walesa or Miodowicz? Time will tell whether the trade unions will be just trade unions, or a political force. We remember 1981. The anarchy of the Central Trade Union Council era and the adventurism of some "Solidarity" chapters are impermissible.

[Question] Is agreeing to trade union pluralism not a contradiction of the OPZZ theory of one union in each enterprise?

[Miodowicz] We counted on the possibility of trade union pluralism earlier on, but we were surprised at the suddenness of the political authorities stance on pluralism. I do not deny the fact that the 10th plenum put trade union aktivs in a difficult light. However, we still maintain that there should be just one trade union council in a factory, regardless of the number of trade unions. The activity of various trade unions should be marked by competition, not confrontation. Bargaining on the subject of how many people belong to which union must end, because otherwise the supreme objective of workers interests is lost.

Right now there are 300 founding committees of new trade unions. There are 27,000 factory unions, of which 24,000 belong to the OPZZ. That does not mean at all that the situation will remain unchanged. A sensible solution might be for every trade union to have the same number of representatives in the factory trade union council, regardless of the number of members in each union.

[Question] Do we need trade unions at all if they are ineffective? Prices keep on increasing.

[Miodowicz] We possess a concept of wages and prices policy, and that is one reason why the government must listen to us. The government has also promised that price increases will be rationalized. But it is difficult to tell whether there will be a complete rationalization. The latest decisions concerning education and the health service show that the voice of the OPZZ is heard when establishing budget expenditures.

[Question] Most people work in the state sector. Is it possible that they are not receiving enough attention?

[Miodowicz] I believe it is necessary to put these matters in order, especially wages. The level of wages should be determined by an enterprise's management efficiency and by the productivity of each employee. We also believe that social benefits, which some people would like to see reduced, are essential at a time of crisis, and cannot be eliminated all of a sudden.

Straight after this meeting, A. Miodowicz told TRYBUNA LUDU that the feelings of workers and their opinion on what is happening in the factories provides the OPZZ with the knowledge and arguments it requires in order to take part in the "roundtable." The questions and answers expressed by working people express deep concern over the standard of living of their families and the fate of the country. Also, working people are concerned that even under pluralism, a defense of workers interests must be the supreme objective of union activity.

The social contract that we ourselves have initiated and which we would like to see concluded should serve this objective, said A. Miodowicz. On the other hand, our joint objectives with the government involve feeding the nation, guaranteeing housing accommodation, and protecting the environment. We will always support government decisions concerning this sphere, though we might have our own views on how to implement them.

Deputy Interior Minister Czubinski Interviewed

LD1902002389 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Studio interview with Lucjan Czubinski, deputy minister of Internal Affairs, by correspondent Slawomir Sobiecki—live or recorded]

[Text] [Sobiecki] Law and law-abidance: This is being written and spoken about ever more frequently and loudly, also during the roundtable deliberations. And there, in fact, one of the cochairmen of the subteam for reform of the law and courts said in front of our cameras that he has objections to the stance of the Ministry of Internal Affairs presented during the deliberations. We have had many questions from you, ladies and gentlemen, about this. You wanted specific, detailed information on the subject.

We are going to meet this request: Hence the presence in our studio of Lucjan Czubinski, deputy minister of Internal Affairs. Welcome, sir. Minister, let us recall at the outset what Adam Strzebosz has in mind.

[Czubinski] Some formulations contained in the Act on the Office of the Minister of Internal Affairs of 1983, empowering law and order and security organs to detain people under administrative procedure; to conduct searches; and also to check telephone conversations. In addition, the presence in the Code of Offences of Article 52 and 52a was called in question.

[Sobiecki] And what is the point in this case?

[Czubinski] Well, it would seem that one can say that the point is the creation of conditions for an evasion of responsibility by some people for committing the actions threatened in those...[pauses] or envisages in those regulations. As we know, the Act on the Office of Minister of Internal Affairs gave this organ very important and responsible tasks, that is, concerning the protection of state security, the security of citizens and their property, and also tasks aimed at preventing crime and other infringements of the law. Of course, the act, in imposing such obligations, also had to create conditions for their implementation. Hence, those powers were provided for, about which we are talking here. It is hard to imagine that, for example, during public disturbances, brawls, the intervening organs would not have the right to stop on the spot the actions of the people causing the disturbance, particularly those manifesting a particular threat. Therefore it seems that calling this kind of regulation in question is simply a sort of misunderstanding.

Of course, an alternative exists, (?but) it is simply exemption from punishment for this kind of behavior. We do not envisage such an alternative, nor do we accept it.

[Sobiecki] Minister, the objection is made that those powers are, let's say, a particular characteristic of Polish law. Do you share that view?

[Czubinski] Of course, this is a misunderstanding. As we know, security and law and order organs the world over have such powers, for, practically, without such powers, it would be hard for them to carry out their tasks.

[Sobiecki] Let's go back for a moment, if we may, to the checking of telephone conversations. Is this kind of practice really essential?

[Czubinski] Carrying out actions of this kind is, firstly, hedged around with many conditions; secondly, it applies only to special cases, when the security of the state or the foundations of the system of government are involved. Moreover, the act creates...[pauses] establishes the control of the prosecutor general over this kind of action. It has to be said clearly that we would very much like not to have to apply this kind of action. That would be our wish, but in cases of violation of the law, sometimes in a very aggressive and very distinct, almost ostentatious way, practically speaking, we have no other possibility. It should be said that the best way to avoid this kind of [word indistinct] certain severity is to abide by the legal regulations in force.

[Sobiecki] The next matter, if I may. What is to happen regarding the misdemeanor courts [kolegia do spraw wykroczen]? The dominant opinion is that the verdicts given there are decided by people without legal training.

[Czubinski] A streamlining process is also taking place in the work of these courts. The members of the courts and also our ministry perceive the need for it. Hence a package of proposals is being prepared...[pauses] has been prepared, in fact, aimed at this streamlining, which envisages, among other things, the possibility of abandoning the courts' imposition of sentences of imprisonment; and also the matter you have mentioned is regulated in a proposal, that the chairmen of the team pronouncing judgment should be persons with university degrees in law.

I would like, however, to unequivocally emphasize that bodies fulfilling a very important role in our legal system in the sphere of opposing the breaking of law and order, and the people working in them socially, are deserving of high words of recognition.

[Sobiecki] I'll return, if you allow me, to Articles 52 and 52a of the Petty Offenses' Code, which have been criticized by the opposition. Which specific acts do those regulations refer to?

[Czubinski] They forbid the calling of illegal meetings and gatherings, the production and distribution of illegal publications, public calls to illegal acts, and also the undertaking of actions aimed at creating public unrest or disturbances. I would like to state here that it is difficult to understand why some people so strongly want to fight these regulations and take up such a critical attitude to them. Those are precisely regulations, which, as it were, assure the observance of law and order, and hence the surprise that those people who on the one hand come out in favor of not breaking the law and at the same time want to removed those regulations from the code. We do not see any possibility for such a measure; we believe they should remain in the Petty Offenses' Code.

[Sobiecki] Meanwhile, Mr Minister, the demand to modify the law is continually being raised in legal milieux, in academic milieux. What is your view on this subject?

[Czubinski] We are also concerned with a deepening of the humanization of law, the democratization of social relations, including also legal relations. I think we have the right to say that progress has been visibly noted in this area. The creation of such institutions as the State Tribunal, the Constitutional Tribunal, the Supreme Administrative Court, the functioning of the Sejm's Socioeconomic Council, and finally of the chairman of the Council of State's Consultative Council are clear proof of this. I think we also have the right to express a certain pleasure at the fact that some other states also accept our solutions as an example to be followed. The Penal Law is supposed to be taking a similar course. As is known a commission working on the reform of the Penal Law, under the chairmanship of Prof Kazimierz Buchala, is functioning, and has already prepared definite projects. A reduction in the system of penalties [penalizacja], that is the sphere of prosecution, in the penal procedure of some acts is, among other things, anticipated within the framework of these projects. The introduction of new punishments, less severe for some less dangerous crimes is anticipated, and also an increase in the court's overseeing of the preparatory proceedings. The practice of the application of the law is also being changed. As we know, currently in penal institutions there are less than 70,000 people. One has to remember that several years ago that number was more than 100,000.

At the moment, many other actions are also subordinated to the line which I have already mentioned. It is necessary here to say that there are people, and sometimes even groups of people, who are not satisfied with this progress. Obviously one cannot agree with opinions which virtually demand that there is not even one person in the penal institutions, let us add—a criminal. [as heard] It is a very idealistic view, unreal, and it is difficult to argue seriously with such views, or to deal with them. The more so, because as it is known, delinquency in Poland is still very high, because the number of threatening acts against the population, such as violence, robberies, thefts, and burglaries—acts which are both very severe and very dangerous—are increasing. The activity of recidivists is also high. In certain categories of these dangerous offenses it amounts, or even exceeds, 40 percent.

[Sobiecki] How successfully do we protect ourselves against this kind of offense?

[Czubinski] It is somewhat worse with this. We do not have very great success in the scope of crime detection, especially those criminal offenses. The frequency of application of temporary detention is decreasing, though we do not question this line, generally. In case of such dangerous crimes it is a certain symptom that does not always bring profit to the preparatory proceedings.

We also have many examples that prove that people who were conditionally discharged from the penal institutions, or have been let out on a pass,—instead of coming back to penal institutions in due time as far as those receiving passes are concerned, or whether or not to return to crime, as far as those conditionally discharged are concerned—commit very dangerous acts, often of the same category. Hence, it seems that these matters must also be looked at critically. Of course we do not question generally the whole direction of these measures, but it seems that these measures should take into consideration above all law and order, security, care of possessions, and the life and health of citizens, in a word, the collective and individual interests of particular persons, rather than the tendencies occasionally shown to a very far-reaching loosening, as it were, of penal institutions.

I would like to take this opportunity to mention that a certain phenomenon occurring also in which one could say that democratization and humanization of the penal law is wrongly interpreted. I would like to describe this by one example. In the case of the murder of Assistant Professor Jan Strzelecki, as is known the perpetrators have been caught. After all, they confessed to their acts.

[Sobiecki] That was last year?

[Czubinski] Naturally. The penal proceedings were practically ended in November of last year. Unfortunately the case cannot be sent to court because the two perpetrators have been submitted for psychiatrical examination. We do not question the need to carry out the examinations, but many people are surprised that those perpetrators could commit both the murder of Assistant Prof Strzelecki as well as 20 other dangerous crimes when they were fully aware and there was no doubt that they were doing it with premeditation. On the other hand, when the problem of penal responsibiilty arose there started to appear such important doubts as to their soundness of mind that they have had to be held for so long in an institution to carry out observation. I think attention should also be drawn to these matters since some people have in my opinion correctly, doubts as to that kind of procedure.

[Sobiecki] Minister, what kind of general conclusion can we put forward from our talk on the law and law and order?

[Czubinski] I think that one could say that law and order and also the democratization of the law ought not to be assessed only according to expections or also good intentions and absolutely not according to demagogic demands. However, the fundamental currency should be concern for the citizen's safety, for the security of the state, for their possessions, health and life, and that is probably a fundamental matter. I think that such a currency will be guiding principle to our talks at the roundtable.

[Sobiecki] Let us hope so. Thank you and thank you ladies and gentlemen for your attention.

Onyszkiewicz Questions Czubinski Remarks

LD1902002789 Warsaw PAP in English 1958 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Warsaw, Feb 18—Solidarity and opposition spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz today issued a statement in which he expressed astonishment and concern over the essence of a statement of Vice-Minister of Internal Affairs Lucjan Czubinski, which was published by most Warsaw dailies on the same day according to PAP.

Onyszkiewicz says the statement tries to defend detaining and searching in situations when the person detained or whose luggage is being searched not only is not charged with having committed an offence or misdemeanour but is not even suspected of having done so. At the same time the justification of detention (for as long as 48 hours) or search is not controlled by an independent court of law.

Onyszkiewicz also argues with Czubinski's claim that the penal law has been made more liberal in the recent years. In his opinion, if that law in its present shape differs from that of 1980, the change is only to the worse.

The statement closes with the words: Minister Czubinski blamed the Solidarity for pushing towards "the creation of asylum and securing impunity to some of the persons who break the legal regulations" which attests to a complete incomprehension of the reasons and values advocated by Solidarity.

Orzechowski Interviewed on 'Ideological Order'

AU1902173189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Feb 89 p 4

[Interview with Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by Piotr Rzadca: "A Minimum Ideological Order"—date, place not given]

[Text] [Rzadca] You have mentioned many times the need to create a certain minimum ideological order in the party. This expression has become very significant. What should we understand by it?

[Orzechowski] I mentioned it for the first time last September at a ceremony inaugurating the new party academic year, at a time when, following the Eighth Central Committee Plenum, there was considerable doubt about what the party is, what features of the past we were supposed to be eliminating, what our objectives were, and what we were in favor of. There was an urgent need then to carry out a kind of ideological party self-analysis and decide which of the provisions of the 10th congress program were still valid.

From the point of view of these past few months, the concept of "minimum ideological order" has turned out to be an encouragement for party discussion, an inspiration to gear this discussion toward important topics. The need to create this minimum ideological order led to the formulation of the Politburo theses for the 10th plenum. For the first time in over 2 years, these theses, which went far beyond current political problems, were an attempt to provide comprehensive answers to all the major questions troubling the entire party. I believe that the theses also served as a signpost for the recent Third All-Polish PZPR Theoretical and Ideological Conference, and the decisions of the 10th plenum provided food for thought for ideologists and theoreticians themselves.

So what is this minimum ideological order about? It is meant to be a modern, binding expose of basic ideological questions. The point is to find a clear, unequivocal answer, not in theoretical language, but in language that is comprehensible to all party people, to a few basic questions: Where do we as a party, political movement, and community come from? What are our values and principles? Which of these values and principles are so fundamental that abandoning them might cause a loss of our identity? The minimum ideological order is a definition of what we have to do and how we have to organize social life in order to make sure that our values and principles do not remain a utopia, but become a part of real life.

Another important component of the minimum ideological order is a definition of what has to be done today and what has to be done tomorrow. Why is that so important? For example, when talking about social justice, humanitarianism, and human dignity, we frequently fail to differentiate between our distant objectives on the one hand and our closer objectives and tasks on the other, those that can be reached and performed today. After all, there will never be so much social justice that there could not be more of it. Therefore, it is necessary to point out all the time what it is we want to achieve today and what we want to achieve tomorrow. Let me give a concrete example. Right now, the point is not only to pay everyone according to his work results. The point is mainly to gradually organize socioeconomic life in such a way that the elementary needs of everyone may be satisfied, and the fruits of man's labor is visible on the market.

Finally, the minimum ideological order must contain a reply to the question: What kind of political and organizational forms should be applied, and what political actions should be taken today in order to attain present and future objectives? At a time of profound changes and many often surprising events, the present political interpretation, though it is important and necessary, is simply inadequate.

Generally speaking, one can say that the minimum ideological order should provide a modern and creative answer to three basic questions: What kind of Poland? What kind of socialism? What kind of party?

[Rzadca] Is the minimum ideological order necessary to consolidate the party internally, or should it play a more extensive role as an expression of the party's identity vis-a-vis other political movements, in order to gain allies and establish alliances, and in order to hold polemics with the party's opponents?

[Orzechowski] It is necessary to the party as a whole more than anything else. It is a prerequisite for the party's ideological consolidation, and provides a fulcrum for the activity of all party organizations. But to a lesser extent, this minimum order is required by every single one of the 2 million party members, so that he may know what exactly it is that binds him to other members of our community.

And there is another equally important aspect. As an ideological and political force, the party bears particular responsibility for Poland. The party is involved in a great, historic struggle for its present and future. However, the party is not alone on the political stage. Although it occupies a central position, it is also becoming an equal partner in dialogue and discussion. In dialogue, discussion, controversies, and struggle, only he who knows how to play his proper role and defend his interests by force of argument, and who clearly states what his objective is and what values he possesses, counts for anything.

A responsible partner becomes credible and earns people's confidence when he does not conceal his identity and does not present the same face toward everyone, and when he is ready to reach a compromise and accord, but refuses to abandon certain principles lest the interests of the state be endangered.

[Rzadca] Does the creation of a minimum ideological order, which many of us crave for and expect, not pose the danger of a return to a collection of dogmas from which it will be necessary to retreat? Is it possible to find a formula that reconciles this order with a certain openness toward the new experiences and new problems created by reality?

[Orzechowski] Indeed there are such fears, accompanied by the temptation to create a new "10 commandments," as was the case in the past. Nothing could be more wrong and misleading. That is why we talk of a certain "minimum" ideological order, not an "optimum" order. We do not want to define everything once and for all. We do not want to create a new immutable law. Theoretical-ideological searches must be continuous and unfettered. Therefore, this ideological order should constantly be made more compact, modified, and enriched. Of course, its basic core should be kept intact. The purpose of all this is to prevent the need for yet another thorough revision to this order in the foreseeable future.

[Rzadca] I suppose that when creating this order, we should abandon some of the faults that burden social life.

[Orzechowski] Yes. We should avoid the habit of hovering between two extremes, which has accompanied our political thinking and action for a very long time. On the one hand, we have been suffering from an inferiority complex, a fatalistic conviction that history and God have done us wrong. On the other hand, we have tended to regard ourselves as a nation with a mission of enlightenment, a nation whose task it is to reveal new truths and spread the word about them. Attitudes like this occur among various social milieus and political streams. They even occur in our party. Being a part of the nation and a product of its history, we have inherited not only good traditions, but bad ones as well.

[Rzadca] In creating our ideological order, we are not alone.

[Orzechowski] Indeed, we are not the only ones doing so. This is a widespread process, but it really applies only to the socialist countries. In the lively discussions in the USSR, Hungary, and Yugoslavia, the same questions arise: What kind of Soviet Union? What kind of Hungary? What kind of Yugoslavia? What kind of socialism and party? In Poland, the searches for these answers are being made under different conditions than in those countries. In Poland, they are taking place under pressure, so to speak, from our national characteristics and experiences, which are sometimes a blessing, and at other times a burden.

It is true that there are spheres in which we are really blazing a trail. We are an enlightening and interesting point of reference for other peoples treading the socialist road. I have in mind the new pluralistic political order in the country, the new democratic solutions and substance, the reforms and transformations inside the party itself, and relations between the church and the state and between believers and nonbelievers. We are pioneers in these spheres. But at the same time, we are hopelessly old-fashioned in other spheres, for example some of our economic and organizational solutions and the yawning discrepancy between words and deeds.

The present level of political culture and the way we hold dialogue and resolve disputes also deserves criticism. For example, many foreigners are surprised at the number of Poles who believe that they alone are right and that only their views count. People like this often fail to realize that their adversaries belong to the same national community, that these adversaries also have the welfare of the state in mind, but want to bring about this welfare in their own way. The latest years have taught us a lot. However, it is very difficult to establish this truth. Practicing democracy is a very difficult art. How many connoisseurs of democracy, people who advertise themselves as its best apostles and champions, still think that the best thing to do is place maximum restrictions on the possibilities of those who think differently to express themselves.

[Rzadca] I do not think that seeking a new ideological order is exclusive to the socialist countries. After all, in the most highly developed capitalist countries there are intellectuals who think that their civilization is becoming increasingly unhumanitarian, alien to the essence of mankind.

[Orzechowski] That is indeed the case. Seeking a new shape for socialism is really part of a broader phenomenon that involves the whole of human civilization. Civilization has found itself at a turning point. Mankind is facing many new challenges and problems to be solved. One example is removing the threat of nuclear annihilation and coming to terms with the effects of the scientific-technological revolution, solving the problem of hunger and pollution, and so on. All this involves great social changes, including changes to consciousness. Each sociopolitical system suggests different solutions, which we are now beginning to discuss jointly. This is bound to lead to a new universal code of ideas, objectives, and programs, in which we will participate regardless of the political system we belong to.

[Rzadca] Let us return to our own backyard. Since the inauguration of the party academic year in September, when the expression "minimum ideological order" was formulated, have we taken any clear steps toward implementing it?

[Orzechowski] Of course we have. We have already worked out the framework of this order. The 10th plenum stance and resolution contains many important formulations. To put it briefly, the framework of this order reminds us of the basic values of socialism, such as humanitarian, work, social justice, human and civic rights, patriotism, and internationalism, and defines the tasks that are necessary to implement these values. These tasks include a socialization of state ownership, the establishment of the sovereignty of working people, a distribution of assets according to one's work input, and a guarantee of equal chances. Furthermore, this framework indicates the path of changes to the sociopolitical system and economy; the way in which to create a system of parliamentary democracy; the way to establish a proper demarcation between the legislature, executive, and judiciary; the way to implement trade union pluralism and expand the coalitional method of exercising authority while guaranteeing a place in it for the opposition which respects the constitutional order; the way to create a market economy and an equality between all economic sectors; and, finally, the way to carry out reforms in the party itself and establish modern ways for it to exercise its leading role. In a short interview like this, it is difficult to list all the features that have been outlined or established.

At the same time, I would like to stress that the third conference made a further step along this road by examining many values and the ways of attaining them and adopting more concrete solutions. The extensive intellectual subject-matter of this conference will soon be publicized, so that it may become the property of the entire party, and also serve as an inspiration for many nonparty theoreticians and practicians.

Thus, our desired minimum ideological order is emerging as a result of broad discussions inside the party, political decisions, and the work of scholars and theoreticians. It is also being shaped by the changes in our social lives and in the consciousness of party members.

I know you expect me to say when this minimum social order will be worked out and declared at last. It is difficult to say. The process of searching is continuing. Its results will be reflected in future political decisions made at subsequent Central Committee plenums. I expect this process will reach its zenith at the 11th PZPR Congress.

[Rzadca] Thank you for the interview.

Christian Democratic Party 'Reborn,' Sejm Told

PM1602142889 London THE DAILY TELEGRAPH in English 16 Feb 89 p 11

[Robin Gedye dispatch: "Party Banned in'46 Lives, Poles Told"]

[Text] The rebirth of an independent pre-war political party was announced to a stunned Polish parliament yesterday by an independent deputy who urged supporters of the banned trade union Solidarity to join it. Mr Ryszard Bender, an independent deputy, was delivering a speech on the national debt when he suddenly told parliament that the Christian Democratic party, forced to suspend activities in 1946, had been born "and was seeking full political implementation". He urged Solidarity to join it.

The only parties permitted under the Polish constitution are the ruling Communist party and its allies, the Peasant party and the Democratic party. It is not clear how the Christian Democratic party could expect to operate.

Meanwhile, Mr Lech Walesa, Solidarity's leader, addressed 20,000 workers at the Stalowa Wola steel factory south of Warsaw as part of his tour of key industrial areas where he is explaining Solidarity's attendance at roundtable talks with the government.

Stalowa Wola has been the scene of a series of strikes during the past year and a policeman was killed there in mysterious circumstances at the end of a work stoppage last August.

Cadres Official Interviewed on Nomenklatura

AU1602175389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Feb 89 p 2

[Interview with Eugeniusz Bandosz, deputy director of the PZPR Central Committee Cadres Department, by an unidentified PAP correspondent: "Nomenklatura—the Myth and the Reality"—date, place not given]

[Text] [PAP] The various postulates put forth by society include a call for the abolition of the nomenklatura. What is the nomenklatura?

[Bandosz] In a legal sense, there is no such thing. It disappeared in 1983, when the 13th plenum of the Central Committee adopted a new cadre policy. But before then there was indeed a concept of nomenklatura inside the party. It applied to posts whose occupancy depended directly on the will of party committees.

This method of party influence on cadre policy was replaced by the principle of political influence on cadre selection. That means that party committees issue political recommendations to candidates for certain posts at central and field level.

[PAP] After 1983, did the cadres policy suddenly conform to society's expectations?

[Bandosz] It was indeed a revolutionary step, though even further steps could have been taken. The principle was correct. In practice, however, there was a tendency to increase the number of posts for which a political recommendation was required.

[PAP] May I ask how many?

[Bandosz] In the 1950's the nomenklatura covered about 70,000 posts, but in fact the party issued recommendations in respect of every single leadership post. In the 1970's, the nomenklatura expanded considerably, until at the end of the 1970's it covered about 130,000 posts, and in the first half of the 1980's it covered twice that number, unfortunately.

This was condemned at the 10th congress. The congress called for changes. One of the arguments in favor of such changes was the result of an opinion poll which showed that the efficiency of leadership cadres was one of the most heavily criticized features of public life.

At the June 1988 plenum, the Central Committee adopted a resolution that called for a sharp reduction in the number of posts subject to political recommendation and a democratization of the cadres policy. Last September, the Politburo adopted new procedures to be followed by party cells when appointing people to leadership posts, and decided to radically reduce the number of posts that required a political recommendation.

At the central level there are only 800 posts left that require a political recommendation, 80 percent less than previously. At the voivodship level the number of such posts has been reduced by 75-80 percent.

According to estimates, in the whole country there are only about 30,000 posts that require a political recommendation. That is not a lot compared to other countries where a party exercises a leading role.

[PAP] That is the mathematical side of the problem.

[Bandosz] Indeed, the greatest change applies to the very influence of the party on the cadres policy. First, it has been accepted that the party will only influence the cadres policy by political means and within the constraints of the law. Second, political recommendation only applies to certain state leadership posts. Third, it has been accepted that party opinions and recommendations are the chief tool of party influence on the cadres policy.

[PAP] What do these opinions refer to?

[Bandosz] Apart from the obvious question of qualifications, the opinions only address the candidate's likelihood of respecting the public order and political interests. I wish to add that there is a complete freedom to recommend candidates and compete for posts.

Whereas at the central level of state administration only ministers and under secretaries are subject to political recommendation, in the economic administration only the managers of state enterprises require political recommendation, and only when their enterprises are deemed to possess exceptional importance for the national economy. This is a major piece of progress when one remembers that political recommendation used to apply to between 10 and 20 posts in a single enterprise.

[PAP] Is the principle of party opinions and recommendations not a disguised attempt to influence the selection of leaders, despite the official discontinuation of the nomenklatura?

[Bandosz] The documents adopted last September clearly say that neither a party recommendation nor a party opinion constitute a final decision. They only serve as references, an expression of the joint responsibility of party committees for the persons they are recommending. It has been made clear that the final decision to appoint someone can only be made by the body that has been appointed by law for this purpose.

Jastrzebski Addresses Warsaw Diplomatic Heads

AU1502181789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] PAP—Dominik Jastrzebski, minister of Foreign Economic Cooperation, met with the heads of Warsaw diplomatic missions at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 9 February.

He discussed the most important topics of foreign trade. He said that 1988 was another year of a very big increase in trade with CEMA and Western countries.

He stressed that the new legislation introduced in 1988 and due to be introduced in 1989 is important for economic activity, especially foreign trade, for it encourages enterprise, liberates economic energy and initiative, and together forms a cohesive economic system.

We are aiming to open our economy wide to the world and increase Poland's participation in international economic activity, said D. Jastrzebski.

The minister also held a series of private meetings with some of the diplomats.

Malinowski Received by Thatcher in London

LD2302100389 Warsaw PAP in English
0225 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] London, Feb 22—On the last day of his visit to London at the invitation of House of Commons Speaker Bernard Weatherill, Sejm (parliament) Speaker Roman Malinowski was received by Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.

The Polish guest also met with Michael Marshall, the chairman of the British group of the inter-parliamentary union and with George Foulkes of the Labour Party and Russell Johnston of the Liberal Party/Social Democratic Party alliance who handle foreign affairs. Malinowski also paid a visit to the headquarters of "British Petroleum" where he was received by R. Fletcher, the chairman of the Polish commission of the London Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

As Malinowski told PAP's correspondent, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher remains under the impression of the visit which she paid to Poland last November and the talks with Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mieczyslow Rakowski. [as received] She expressed a willingness to continue this dialogue and is counting on a meeting with the president of the Council of State and the Polish premier soon.

The sides exchanged views on the implementation of the arrangements made during Mrs Thatcher's visit to Poland, nothing with satisfaction that they were being put into effect consistently and with the big engagement of both sides.

The two also discussed the processes taking place in Poland at present. Prime Minister Thatcher is considerably impressed by the qualitative changes taking place in Poland entailing transformations not only in bilateral relations but also qualitative changes in all of Europe. Thatcher extremely highly assessed the results of roundtable talks, their atmosphere and direction of adapted solutions. Thatcher declared her personal engagement in favour of positive solutions to Poland's problems at the forum of the Paris Club and the International Monetary Fund as well as the full normalization of bilateral financial-credit relations between Poland and Great Britain. She also declared support for Poland's signing an agreement on commercial and economic cooperation with the European Economic Community.

Malinowski said that Prime Minister Thatcher also stated that she is going to get personally engaged in solving the issue of returning the ashes of Gen Wladyslaw Sikorski to Poland within the frame of joint observances commemorating the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War Two. The issue, which has been forwarded by Poland for a long time now, was touched upon during the present meeting. Returning the ashes of the former premier and commander-in-chief of the Polish Armed Forces in the West would be an important and becoming accent of these observances, the Sejm speaker stressed.

The statement published by the press bureau of the prime minister's office stressed the good atmosphere of the talk held at 10 Downing Street on the events which have taken place since Thatcher's visit to Poland.

Comments on Meeting

LD2302100489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] [Announcer] A report from London.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] Your meeting with Margaret Thatcher ended a moment ago. What was the main subject of conversation?

[Malinowski] We talked about the processes currently taking place in Poland. Madame Premier is greatly impressed by the qualitative changes; they also help to create the qualitative changes in Polish-British relations, but also help to create the qualitative processes throughout Europe. She gave an exceptionally high assessment of the results of the roundtable and of the atmosphere and the directions of the solutions, but she also declared her personal involvement in favor of positive solutions, within the framework of the Paris Club and the International Monetary Fund, as well as full normalization of bilateral financial and credit relations between Poland and the United Kingdom.

I think that all this should strengthen economic cooperation, trade exchange, industrial coproduction between our enterprises. The beginnings are exceptionally specific and promising: the further creation of joint enterprises and also support by the British side for the Polish-EEC agreement regarding trade and economic cooperation. [end recording]

Siwicki Receives CSSR Military Political Chief

AU1702163689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Feb 89 p 1

[Report signed "Raj": "Army General Florian Siwicki Receives the Head of the Political Main Administration of the CSSR Armed Forces"]

[Text] On 14 February, Army General Florian Siwicki, PZPR Politburo member and PPR Minister of National Defense, received Lieutenant General Jaroslav Klicha, chief of the Political Main Administration of the CSSR Armed Forces, who is in Poland on a working visit.

Matters relating to the further strengthening of cooperation between the PPR Armed Forces and the CSSR Armed Forces were raised during their talks.

General of Arms Tadeusz Szacilo, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces, was also present at the meeting.

This was followed by a meeting at the headquarters of the Main Political Administration of the Polish Armed Forces during which the two political administration chiefs briefed each other on current issues pertaining to party and political work in the fraternal armies.

The political administration representatives discussed issues of interest to both sides. They exchanged experiences on the functioning of the military party and political apparatuses in practice and pointed to the need to further increase joint undertakings.

General of Arms T. Szacilo and Lieutenant General J. Klicha signed a cooperation plan for the year 1989.

Government Official Comments on 1989 Activity

AU1602122089 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8 Feb 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Kazimierz Malecki, secretary and under secretary of state at the Office of the Council of Ministers, by Andrzej Golaszewicz: "Reorientation and Changes"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Golaszewicz] The Council of Ministers work schedule for the first half of 1989 is mainly concerned with economic restructuring, involving the performance of the tasks contained in the national economic consolidation plan and a pursuance of the priorities adopted by the government.

[Malecki] Indeed, the changes in economic policy are aimed at concentrating forces and resources on priority economic development goals, which are: agriculture and the food economy, housing construction, and environmental protection. The point is also to expand market mechanisms and private enterprise.

In order to attain these goals, it is essential to guarantee the constant development of production, and hence an increase in the supply of goods to the market. It is also necessary to increase exports, so that there may be more foreign currency resources with which to purchase new technology that will reduce the energy and material-intensiveness of production.

[Golaszewicz] How will the government's changes be reflected in the legal system?

[Malecki] The legislative changes proposed by the Council of Ministers and contained in its work schedule for the first half of 1989 are meant to achieve an equal status for every sector of the economy. They should remove the barriers that still hamper economic activity and serve to abolish monopolies. This purpose is served by the plan to reduce rationing, create greater freedom of trade, and encourage private enterprise.

[Golaszewicz] What are the most important items on the agenda in the government's work schedule?

[Malecki] The government's intentions are contained in 61 points, to be implemented in the first half of the year. They include over 30 important bills, such as the associations bill, the communal property bill, economic jurisdiction bill, a bill on the drafting of legislation, an amendment to the civil code, a law on construction, an amendment to the law on tax obligations, a bill on stock exchanges, an employment bill, and others. Many items of draft legislation are directly connected with implementing the economic consolidation plan, and some of them have already been presented before the Sejm, for example a bill on the conditions that govern economic consolidation.

[Golaszewicz] Apart from economic topics, the government work schedule also covers sociopolitical ones.

[Malecki] The government will examine a new system of social benefits and the social security of craftsmen and other self-employed persons. We will also examine a change to the law on factory social and housing funds, and possible changes to the laws on social welfare, health care, and the medical profession. Such changes are essential on account of the speed of changes in our lives. The government will also consider a national health program. [passage omitted]

[Golaszewicz] The way in which the Council of Ministers works has changed. How will it work this year?

[Malecki] We have decided that the Council of Ministers will meet regularly on the second Monday of each month. Of course, additional meetings can take place, if necessary. The documents to be examined by the Council will be presented to it by its secretary as soon as the permanent Council of Ministers committees have finished perusing and discussing them. In the case of the presentation of a draft law, the members of the Council of Ministers will also require to see the rules governing the implementation of the final law. The Council of Ministers Economic Committee and Sociopolitical Committee play a particularly important role in the work of the government. They prepare many documents for the Council to decide upon. This enables the Council to gain an accurate picture of the subject matter in question.

Interior Ministry Spokesman on Spending Demand

AU1602152489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Feb 89 p 2

[Text] PAP—Major Wojciech Garstka, press spokesman for the Ministry of Internal Affairs, has provided PAP with the following statement:

In his statement on the television news on Wednesday, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, speaking on behalf of the "Solidarity" participants at the "roundtable," said that these people had demanded a reduction in Interior Ministry spending by "as much as 20 percent."

He thinks this would relieve the Polish economy of a major burden, especially in view of the difficult decisions necessitated by the economic reform.

On 6 January, the Sejm Commission of Administration, Internal Affairs, and Justice rejected the draft Interior Ministry budget which the ministry had worked out itself. The commission said that the proposed level of spending does not guarantee that our ministry will be able to perform its statutory tasks. In the absence of a decision by the finance minister to have this draft budget amended, it was rejected yet again on 23 January, and for the same reason.

Over the past few years, the Interior Ministry budget has never exceeded 3-3.5 percent of total state budget spending. Not only that, but the actual proportion occupied by Interior Ministry spending has been falling steadily. Last year, for example, our budget was only 2.9 percent of the total state budget. Following the adjustment called for by the Sejm commission, our 1989 ministerial budget was set at Z459,121,000,000, which includes the cost of maintaining all the forces under the ministry's control, including the Border Defense Forces. Our budget this year will probably not exceed 2.5 percent of this year's state spending. In fact, it will fall. That is the result of the austerity measures that we are firmly carrying out.

To give a general picture, let me provide an oft-quoted example of spending. Last year, subsidies for milk and milk products, in terms of last year's prices, amounted to Z952,445,000,000, over twice as much as this year's Interior Ministry budget calculated in terms of this year's prices. If we calculate last year's milk subsidies in terms of this year's prices instead of last year's, the difference between milk subsidies and Interior Ministry spending will be even bigger. Onyszkiewicz's proposed cut in Interior Ministry spending would permit a 10 percent increase in milk subsidies, nothing more.

I wish to say that in every West European country, to say nothing of the United States, the police force is far larger than in Poland. In France, there are 309 policemen for every 10,000 inhabitants (some sources say there are even 370), in the FRG, there are 280 for the same number of inhabitants (though I have come across the figure 315), in Great Britain there are 260, in little Denmark there are 215, and in Poland there are 115. One should also remember that these figures do not include other uniformed peacekeeping forces, including private security men. Even so, the crime rate in Poland is lower than in other countries. The number of crimes per 100,000 people in France is 5 times higher than in Poland, in the FRG it is 4.6 times higher, in Great Britain it is 4.5 times higher, and in the United States it is 3.4 times higher.

Just like the Western figures, our figures also do not include the intelligence and counterintelligence services.

The Interior Ministry budget is used sparingly. Last year, these savings amounted to several billion zlotys. The Interior Ministry will continue to perform sparing and rational management and turn over every single zloty from society several times. Nevertheless, society complains that there are not enough militiamen in some places, not enough patrols, and not enough precincts. There are not enough forces and resources to effectively protect social calm and property everywhere and in every situation.

The Ministry of National Defense and Ministry of Internal Affairs are doing more for the national economy than any other body. Our work in cultivating soil in Suwalki Voivodship and in the Bieszczady Mountains last year was valued at about Z2 billion, and our work for the benefit of other economic spheres was valued at Z281 million. Soldiers and officials helped install over 36,000 telephones in Warsaw and Krakow. This they did on a voluntary basis and outside their hours of duty, and did not receive a single grosz in payment. This year, we will help install another 50,000 telephones in Warsaw, to add to the 250,000 already in existence.

Wages in the Interior Ministry depend on the size of the budget. Wages have fallen during the difficult economic period of the latest years. Today, there is no comparison between these wages and wages in the state sector, to say nothing of the private sector. Last year, average wages in our ministry adhered to an average of Z62,128 per month, which was less than in the manufacturing industries. Even a senior district militiaman with 17 years service only earns Z72,000 per month. Militiamen do not envy anyone's wages, but we do feel that high requirements and a considerable element of risk ought to be suitably rewarded.

Service in our ministry is tough and dangerous. Each year, several officers die during the performance of their duties. Last year, 4 died, 9 received injures that caused permanent disability, and 404 received various degrees of wounds.

No wonder cadre problems are increasing. In 1988, 5.8 percent of ministerial posts were vacant. There is a shortage of militiamen in the streets, car parks, and many other places where the citizen expects militia protection. The influx of new cadres is clearly diminishing. Intake during the first half of 1988 was 9.5 percent less than during the first half of 1987. The number of retirements is increasing, one of the reasons being deteriorating health.

Therefore we are all faced with the question whether under these conditions and after these spending cuts, the ministry is capable of discharging its statutory commitments of halting crime and various manifestations of wrongdoing and improving law and order in large cities, so that people may feel safe. No one will relieve the Interior Ministry of its responsibility for state security and the life, health, and property of citizens.

This is not the first time that Janusz Onyszkiewicz has talked about reducing the Interior Ministry budget. In 1981, it was a popular way of stirring up emotions. Janusz Onyszkiewicz has rehashed an old, worn-out postulate that has been regularly repeated by "Free Europe" and other Western centers. I do not think a repetition of ideas capable of weakening institutions that are important for the functioning of the states helps the constructive "roundtable" talks. Such a repetition diverges the talks away from socioeconomic interests toward emotions and political conflicts.

Krakow Paper Interviews Stelmachowski

PM3101093889 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 13 Jan 89 pp 2-3

[Interview with Prof Andrzej Stelmachowski, chairman of the Warsaw branch of the Catholic Intelligentsia Club and negotiator in government-opposition talks, by GAZETA KRAKOWSKA correspondent Izabela Pieczara; date, place not given]

[Text] [Pieczara] I hope you are not going to take exception to what I want to ask you. In academic circles you are recognized as an eminent authority on civil law and an expert in agrarian law, but the general public sees you as a politician. So, Professor, would you please tell us what your role really is, since the Professor Stelmachowski's name is generally associated with issues involving joint stewardship of Poland.

[Stelmachowski] You know, I have never really given much thought to my personal status, especially in this context. I must tell you frankly that my present role is a consequence of an astonishing series of coincidences and a combination of circumstances. Principally, I am a university professor. This is my professional occupation, my vocation, and also my hobby, because I derive real pleasure from it. As I have already said, I was drawn into political life by a series of coincidences. But I feel no particular vocation for it, though I do involve myself in public activities—as I have always done—and it was perhaps the pressure from the Catholic Intelligentsia Club in Warsaw that has made it difficult for me to withdraw from political life. However, I consider my political role a temporary thing. I am first and foremost an academic and a lawyer.

[Pieczara] I cannot quite agree with you, because in last November's issue of KONFRONTACJE you disclosed—albeit only partially—some details of the mediations between the three principal figures concerned with the strikes last August. These three were PZPR Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek, Primate Jozef Glemp, and Lech Walesa. You took upon yourself the mission of mediating in their talks. Not all GAZETA KRAKOWSKA readers have had the opportunity to read that interesting account. Could you reveal to us any more details of the talks?

[Stelmachowski] I would prefer not to. Some people already maintain that I said too much then. I apolgize, but I do not believe that further discussion can help the issue in any way.

[Pieczara] Naturally discretion is the prime condition for any mediation, though it is also said to be a necessity and a privilege enjoyed by despots, as Vidal asserts in his "Creation." But could you perhaps tell us whether Solidarity's leaders are united today in their views on Polish affairs and the Polish economy?

[Stelmachowski] There certainly are differences of opinion among them because Solidarity is a trade union and also a social movement but not a political party. It encompasses all manner of widely differing trends, which are nevertheless held together by a certain body of shared ideas and ideals—which is natural, after all. This is why I believe that Solidarity's legalization would pave the way to an extremely important development: the joint attainment of a certain consensus on a number of extremely important fundamental values. For instance, amid the complex evolution taking place all around us today there is somebody who should ensure that social justice is preserved. It seems to me that this is precisely what the trade unions' role should be: to ensure that the principles of social justice are observed. But as regards a great number of other issues of a purely political or economic nature, a diversity of opinions is both possible and desirable. After all, Solidarity members could at the same time belong to a variety of political groups, even if those groups are mutually opposed. You may find it strange, but I resolutely believe that it is our country's tragedy that there is no consensus on certain fundamental things and values essential for the proper functioning of the state. Many Western countries accommodate opposing political parties which are engaged in political interplay and a political struggle with each other but which at the same time recognize a certain body of common, fundamental values which are so evident that they no longer need to be spelled out. Our misfortune is precisely the lack of such a consensus on those fundamental values essential to the correct functioning of the state system. That is why I believe that it is urgently necessary to conduct a dialogue with the aim of establishing such a consensus. And as regards other matters, let there be as much dispute as possible. For there is nothing worse than stagnation and quiescence.

[Pieczara] You mentioned Solidarity's legalization. Please allow me to turn once more to your KONFRONTACJE article. You concluded your account as follows: "Thus a concession was achieved whereby a preliminary acknowledgment of Solidarity was no longer required. But I can avow that the question is no longer about 'whether' Solidarity should be legalized but 'how' it should be legalized: Of course this creates a tangled web of new problems. So that was in fact the true reason for the concession." It is now 4 months since you wrote that article. How do you rate the chances of Solidarity's legalization today, given the register of its sins and transgressions, the principal being that, though a trade union, Solidarity nurtured vast political ambitions?

[Stelmachowski] I would suggest that we first consider the definition of political activity. I personally like to quote the distinction drawn by Pope John Paul II in his encyclical "Labore exercens" which deals precisely with trade unions and their relationship with politics and political parties. We find that it differentiates between political activity in its narrow, strict sense, that is, participation in the exercise of power or aspiration to it, and political activity in its broader sense, interpreted as striving for the common good and commitment to the cause of that common good. Having thus recognized this distinction, I would like to stress that I firmly believe that the trade unions should not concern themselves with political activity in its narrow interpretation, whereas with regard to the broad interpretation of political activity in terms of striving for the common good, they most certainly should be involved in it. So now you see why it is impossible to answer your question with a brief "yes" or "no". Let me emphasize again that the trade unions certainly should involve themselves in political activity of the broader kind, for it would be deplorable if they did not. On the other hand they should not aspire to participate in the exercise of power. But there is also the other side of the coin to consider. If we say that they should have nothing to do with the power apparatus, we then have a new problem to tackle. We could say that the existing, recognized trade unions represent the ideal model and are a godsend for the establishment as far as the power system is concerned. But the political connection is all too spectacularly obvious. Not only is Alfred Miodowicz OPZZ chairman, he is also a Politburo member. He even took great pride in the fact that the trade unions contributed greatly to toppling premier Messner's government. And I think it is a good thing. But then why should objections be raised against Solidarity for interfering in political matters? We must reach an agreement on the role to be accorded to the trade unions. If one union is allowed to interfere in political affairs—"political" in its strictest definition of participation in the exercise of power—then why should another union's political activity be considered objectionable? Regardless of what the future decisions will bring, I am deeply convinced that all links between trade unions and political parties, as well as all aspirations by trade unions to participate in the exercise of power are always detrimental to the unions themselves and to the workers whose interests they are supposed to protect. I do not wish Solidarity such a future. On the other hand it would be a sad state of affairs if Solidarity were in future to renounce all public activity in the interest of society's good, that is, political activity in its broader definition.

[Pieczara] I asked you about the prospects of Solidarity's legalization...

[Stelmachowski] I believe that we are slowly approaching a time when such prospects will look very real indeed.

[Pieczara] What makes you think so?

[Stelmachowski] The whole configuration of relations in our country is simply such that as long as the Solidarity question remains unresolved, no other problem in the sphere of political reform can be tackled at all. The Solidarity question sits there like a firmly lodged thorn and all earlier attempts to settle it by means of a political reform applied in a roundabout way have failed for that very reason. It is no coincidence that the church is lending it its support: The church is interested in the emergence of a social consensus and the introduction of certain political reforms which would underwrite that consensus. There is also an awareness of the fact that as long as that question is not resolved, many others will simply remain in a state of chronic deadlock. Moreover, I believe that delaying the solution will generally impede political reform. This, however, does not mean that the solution of the Solidarity question will automatically guarantee us a peaceful life. We need our life to be galvanized, and that does not promise peace and quiet. In any case, it would be a bad thing for us to live in such peace and quiet. What we need is a situation in which social movements—and these are, in my opinion, absolutely essential—can follow their course without destroying certain vital structures, such as the economic system and other elements essential to the wellbeing of society at large. Therefore we would be well advised to make enough room in our system both for the indispensable social movements and for certain mechanisms capable of resolving the conflicts and rechanneling possible clashes of interest.

[Pieczara] You mentioned the church. What role do you think the church should play under our present conditions? Do you think it should provide common ground for reconciliation between opposition and government?

[Stelmachowski] No, it is not quite like that. The collection of the Diocesan Museum in Plock includes a visitors' book containing entries by many famous people. One of these, by Henryk Sienkiewicz, reads as follows (I quote from memory): "The church is a custodian of our past, a guardian of our present, and a guiding light of our future." I believe that this aphorism encapsulates a profound wisdom. The church ought to be, and indeed is, a guardian of certain fundamental religious and moral values. In our circumstances the church has been for a very long time the custodian of our national values. That is why it would be wrong to expect the church to engage in the political tactics of our daily life. It would probably be a grave mistake. Its mission is to stand guard over the all-important fundamental values. It is true that the church often speaks out on various public issues, but from the viewpoint of these fundamental values which it guards and preserves it should not act as a substitute for political parties or for the social forces that have a role to play on the sociopolitical stage. This, however, does not mean that the church should be excluded from playing a mediating role. In any case, it has been playing this role, with lesser or greater success, for the past 40 years. On the other hand, I do not see the church as the third—even if only indirect—political force.

[Pieczara] We have been talking about Solidarity and its legalization, but we have not said anything about the OPZZ or Alfred Miodowicz....

[Stelmachowski] You must ask Miodowicz himself about that....

[Pieczara] ...I have asked him already, some time ago. It is common knowledge that he supports the notion of union pluralism, which does not mean he would permit the existence of two, or even more, unions in one enterprise.

[Stelmachowski] Well, I can discuss this issue as a lawyer. The thing is that we should not confuse legal formulations and interpret them as magic formulas regulating public life. Union rifts are a fact, regardless of whether or not Solidarity is legalized. There are two distinct issues here: One concerns facts and the other legal structures. Legal structures may accelerate or delay the progress of certain phenomena but they cannot replace them. That is why, when we say that there are differences of opinion or instances of friction, we are talking of an existing fact or social phenomenon, which is present whether or not union pluralism has been instituted. Recently there has been talk about "removing" politics from the workplace. This idea deserves to be considered. But the question which begs to be asked here concerns the practical consequences of such a move. After all, the existing trade unions would also have to "leave" the workplace. The same would probably apply to all party organizations. Are we, in your opinion, ready for such a move?

[Pieczara] I do not think so.

[Stelmachowski] Neither do I. After all, it is much easier to allow the coexistence of two or three trade unions in an enterprise than to remove the existing ones from it. I see no solution other than to become reconciled to the idea of several trade unions in the same in the same enterprise. But it is extremely important that we work out a formula for coexistence between these different unions. Perhaps it will be necessary to create new mechanisms for joint representation of union issues to enterprise management boards. These things can be negotiated. But as regards the present situation, I would call it potentially explosive.

[Pieczara] Recently the Public Opinion Survey Center [CBOS] reported a notable surge of new energy and optimism among the general public in connection with certain concrete—and in some cases virtually revolutionary—decisions made by Mieczyslaw Rakowski's new government. Would you not agree that a number of these moves had already overtaken Solidarity's proposals in the economic sphere?

[Stelmachowski] I must admit that I read the report issued by CBOS director, Colonel Kwiatkowski, with some surprise. Perhaps it was because my own observations have failed to register such a surge of optimism, particularly in the economic sphere. But this does not mean that I underestimate the significance of such new decisions as the recent act on economic enterprise, for instance. Nevertheless, I believe that the government will still have to make some extremely difficult—I would even say dramatic—decisions. I can only say that I am very glad I am not the premier. But you asked me about the economic proposals. I do not think the government proposals have far overtaken those suggested by Solidarity. It is a very good thing that the government has opened wide all doors and windows to private economic enterprise. But some problems still remain untouched. I am thinking here of the notorious issue of the nomenklatura. This is not a subject under discussion. In fact the official view is that the practice has been eliminated and replaced by the system of recommendation. But as long as the nomenklatura system remains alive in the guise it has assumed today, enterprise directors will continue to be guided in their decisions by political rather than economic criteria. They will strive to get into the most favorable setups because these will protect their positions and also guarantee the well-being of the enterprise itself. In view of this situation the government's continued silence gives cause for unease and concern. Another such issue is the problem of demonopolization. We will not be able to introduce proper market economy if we have to contend with the phenomenon of monopoly holders. Virtually every negative phenomenon associated with the monopoly system described by classic economic science has by now materialized in economic practice. We can see evidence of this with the naked eye. I must admit that some measures aimed at a departure from the monopoly system are being undertaken, but the attempts are very feeble. I think that structural changes are also needed inside the socialized sector. Another thing is that the agricultural sector is insufficiently appreciated in our country. It is in fact constantly being plundered and undermined and also disproportionately encumbered by carrying the burden of the crisis. I very much fear that this policy may result in a considerable food crisis.

[Pieczara] The latest issue of POLITYKA carries an interview with Lech Walesa. It has caused quite a sensation. We may assume that the authorities will read that interview as moderate and encouraging. Walesa says in it that "Accord is the first necessity for this country. We must not be held up by considerations which are just pretexts. The key issue is Solidarity's legalization. There is nothing to be afraid of. Let me repeat: We do not want to bring down the system. We have a shared interest in compromise. There simply is no other system. We are neither rejoicing nor weeping—that is why we must reach an agreement." But many opposition politicians refuse to come forth with such declarations, and Stefan Kisielewski even emphasized several times in statements made for Radio Free Europe that "no reforms will be possible without the system's being changed and annihilated." So how does it all fit together?

[Stelmachowski] Mr Kisielewski, whose writings I always read with great pleasure and whom I personally know and like, has nonetheless never been an exponent of Solidarity's views. His is a radical viewpoint and I personally do not have to subscribe to it. I do not think that a political coup is a vital necessity for our country. In spite of everything, I am in favor of the evolutionary process. I can see it happening even now, albeit much too slowly. Nor do I think that it is necessary to resort to radical measures based on the principle of "all or nothing." It seems to me that no social compromise stands a realistic chance of stabilizing the situation in the future unless it can meet the interests of all the sides involved. But it is my personal opinion that we should not formulate the whole question in a way that equates our opponents with our enemies. I see no reason why I should believe that members of the establishment are bad Poles who do not wish for the good of their country. I am convinced they also wish for it, only they want to achieve it by different means. It seems to me that we could accomplish many things together. It is vitally important that we extricate the country from the economic crisis: This is simply essential for the sake of our sovereignty and independence. Economic decline may result in a state of very extensive dependence. I am afraid that we are already lapsing into such dependence, and that is a very unhappy state of affairs. I am certainly in favor of extending the limits of freedom as far as possible, but to do that we must be able to stand firm on our own two feet. It is precisely here that I see many aspects of the opposition's interests coinciding with those of the authorities currently in power. We must make an effort to get these interests to run side by side. The important thing is not how long the authorities can preserve their privileges intact but what they can and should do to satisfy certain justifiable aspirations expressed by the opposition.

[Pieczara] How, then, would you describe the situation in Poland as it is now, at the start of 1989?

[Stelmachowski] We are clearly in a state of transition, with a great deal of fluctuation in social and economic relations, to say nothing of monetary concerns. At the same time, however, this very restlessness holds some hope for the future. I am an optimist and therefore I believe that we will see a great deal of social movement from which a new reality will ultimately emerge. Let us hope it will be a better reality.

[Pieczara] You say you are an optimist. As such, how do you rate the possibility of starting the roundtable talks? Why is the table still standing idle in Jablonna?

[Stelmachowski] I will not retract my assertion that I am an optimist even when it comes to the issue of the roundtable talks. But my answer to your question must be that there is only one precondition which must be met if the roundtable is to serve its purpose. That precondition is Solidarity's legalization.

[Pieczara] Thank you for talking to me.

Philosopher on Pro-Government Opposition Group

AU0802090789 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
28 Jan 89 p 4

[Interview with Miroslaw Dzielski, philosopher and chairman of the Krakow Industrial Society, by Andrzej Goszczynski: "An Economic Raison d'Etat"—date, place not given]

[Excerpts] Goszczynski: What do you think makes people want to work well?

Dzielski: There are at least four categories of motives—religious, moral, and economic; plus the satisfaction derived from work. Not all of these motives appear at once. Sometimes, one or two of them predominate. However, it has not been possible to replace these motives with other ones. [passage omitted]

The government is currently facing accumulating problems, and I appreciate the fact that it wants to show what it can do. [passage omitted] It not only possesses a program of reforms, but is also acting energetically to implement it. I am one of those who would like the reforms to succeed. People who think this way are not in the majority. The government ought to remember that. I support the government, but even if the government gained the support of most of society by means of bold economic moves, that would still not be a sufficient political condition for the success of the reforms. [passage omitted]

Goszczynski: You say you support the government. How?

Dzielski: Let me say a few words about the work of my society. It possesses two aspects; a social aspect and a political aspect. As far as the social aspect is concerned, we issue opinions about various matters, trying to attract people who think the way we do. We give advice to new entrepreneurs and hold public lectures on how to commence economic activity. We have set up a school for entrepreneurs, whose first graduates are already in business. We give prizes for economic writing. We have started our own economic activity. We have fought for and won permission to publish our own bulletin, the first issue of which will soon appear. We organize social activity, confident that it will set the tone for the work of all our members and sympathizers.

As far as the political aspect is concerned, our group, unlike many other opposition groups, conducts something that one may call local politics. We are of the opinion that economic changes in Poland are essential, and that these changes must be major ones. One cannot be angry with the authorities over the economy, not even when one holds different views about everything else. That is a question of raison d'etat. Therefore, we in Krakow have always tried to establish a bridgehead toward the authorities, so that we can cooperate in those things we consider to be the most important ones and so that we can exert a certain amount of local influence. That is not an easy thing to do. We are an opposition milieu and intend to remain one. The authorities have displayed a great amount of mistrust in us, and given us very little maneuvering space. After all, central institutions enjoy a monopoly over politics. It took a long time for the central institutions to notice us as a group that is really independent. That was not easy, either. Warsaw tends to look down on people in the provinces. [passage omitted]

What I have described illustrates the complexity of our activity. But we have to tackle complicated issues like this, and are already doing so, so that the reforms may function in reality, and not just on paper.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 8-14 Feb

AU1802204689

[Editorial Report] The Polish press monitored from 9 to 16 February reports the following appearances of Polish leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Czeslaw Kiszczak and Florian Siwicki met with Kazimierz Olesiak, minister of agriculture, forestry, and food industry, on 8 February, in order to assess the work of soldiers for the benefit of agriculture in 1988. Siwicki decided to sell to private farmers military vehicles left redundant as a result of military personnel reductions. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Feb 89 p 2)

Jozef Czyrek, Czeslaw Kiszczak, and Tadeusz Olechowski saw Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski off on his visit to Paris at Warsaw Airport on 14 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Feb 89 p 2)

Kazimierz Barcikowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, received Dyonizy Bilinski, new Polish ambassador to Pakistan; and Ryszard Fijalkowski, new ambassador to France, on 13 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Feb 89 p 2)

Jozef Czyrek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, attended a report-back conference of the PZPR factory committee of the aircraft factory at Rzeszow on 8 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Feb 89 p 2)

Iwona Lubowska, Politburo member, attended a meeting of party aktivs at the municipal offices of Bielsko-Biala on 9 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Feb 89 p 2) She visited the chemical plant in Oswiecim on 14 February and spoke to the work force. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Feb 89 p 3)

Zbigniew Michalek, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, met with farmers in Gruszczyn on 14 February, in order to discuss the work of agricultural circles. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Feb 89 p 3)

Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, toured several factories and other work places in the Warsaw district of Praga and spoke to employees on 14 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Feb 89 p 3)

Gabriela Rembisz, Politburo member, toured treatment facilities at the health resort of Rabka on 13 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Feb 89 p 2)

General Florian Siwicki, Politburo member and minister of National Defense, received Lieutenant General Jaroslav Klicha, chief of the CSSR Army Main Political Administration, on 14 February. (Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 15 Feb 89 p 1)

Zdzislaw Swiatek, Politburo member, visited the Pawel Finder Nitrogen Plant in Chorzow on 14 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Feb 89 p 2)

Zdzislaw Balicki, Politburo candidate member, attended a meeting of PZPR factory committee secretaries in Wroclaw on 9 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Feb 89 p 1) He was present at a report-back conference of the PZPR committee of the rural district of Trzebnica on 14 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Feb 89 p 2)

Manfred Gorywoda, Politburo candidate member, toured the "Silesia" metal products plant in Rybnik on 14 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Feb 89 p 3)

Marek Holdakowski, Politburo candidate member, visited the "Dalmor" fish processing plant in Gdynia on 14 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Feb 89 p 3)

Janusz Kubasiewicz, Politburo candidate member, appeared on the television evening news on 12 February and answered questions on the 10th plenum and party unity. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Feb 89 p 2) He visited the "Polskie Nagrania" record factory in Warsaw on 14 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Feb 89 p 3)

Zygmunt Czarzasty, Central Committee secretary, attended a meeting of the Provisional Association of Polish Employees at the PZPR Central Committee building on 8 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Feb 89 p 2) He visited the "Bierut" steelworks in Czestochowa on 14 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Feb 89 p 4)

Leszek Miller, Central Committee secretary, went to a conference of the PZPR factory committee of the oil refinery at Plock on 11 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Feb 89 p 2) He toured the "Ursus" mechanical plant in Wloclawek on 14 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Feb 89 p 4)

Marian Stepien, Central Committee secretary, received Andrzej Kurz, chairman of the Polish Association of Book Publishers, on 9 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Feb 89 p 2) He held a meeting with the actors and staff of the theater at Kielce on 14 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Feb 89 p 4)

Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski received Harry Ott, SED Central Committee member and GDR deputy foreign minister, on 14 February. (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Feb 89 p 2)

Iranian President Khamene'i Arrives on Visit

Greeted by Ceausescu

AU2202162389 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, arrived this afternoon in Bucharest on an official visit to our country at the invitation of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania.

The arrival ceremony took place at Otopeni Airport, which was adorned with the portraits of Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i and the national flags of Romania and Iran. Big placards in the Romanian and Iranian languages carried wishes of welcome to our country for the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran as well as wishes for friendship and cooperation between Romania and Iran, to the benefit of the two peoples and in the interest of the cause of cooperation, understanding, and peace in the world.

Stepping down from the airplane, the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran was welcomed most cordially by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu. A military guard at the airport presented arms. The national anthems of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the SR of Romania were played. As a sign of welcome, 21 salvos were fired. The two presidents reviewed the honor guard. The Iranian president was introduced to the Romanian officials rallied at the airport, namely members of the Council of State and the government, generals, and other official figures. Members of the Iranian Embassy in Bucharest were also present. Pioneers offered flowers to Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i.

Ceausescu, Khamene'i Confer

AU2202195589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1937 GMT 22 Feb 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Meets President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 22/2/1989—Wednesday, 22 February, President Nicolae Ceausescu of the Socialist Republic of Romania met President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

President Nicolae Ceausescu welcomed the visit the president of the Islamic Republic of Iran is paying to Romania, considering that it would contribute to better understanding the preoccupations of the two countries and peoples, and the prospects of further developing the Romanian-Iranian relations.

Thanking for the invitation to visit Romania, President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i expressed satisfaction at meeting again and talking with the president of Romania and at establishing together new measures in order to expand the Iranian-Romanian relations.

Under the token of the joint wish to confer an ever richer content to the collaboration between Romania and Iran, President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i made a first exchange of opinions on the stage attained by and the prospects of development on multiple planes of the relations between Romania and Iran, in the interest of both peoples, of the cause of international peace and collaboration.

Further on 22 Feb Talks

LD2302093789 Tehran IRNA in English 0807 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest, Feb. 23, IRNA—Presidents of Iran and Romania held their first private meeting at State Council Palace here Wednesday evening. During the meeting, Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed his country's willingness for expansion of mutual ties in various fields.

Iran's President 'Ali Khamene'i described the prospect of Tehran-Bucharest ties as very clear and fruitful and emphasised on further bilateral political and economic cooperation especially at international scenes. Iran-Romania high ranking delegations are to discuss expansion of economic ties, petrochemical, oil, transportation, agriculture and other issues of mutual interest during President Khamene'i's two-day stay here.

Later in the evening, President Khamene'i met with Iranian students residing in Romania and reviewed their problems.

President Khamene'i arrived here Wednesday afternoon and was welcomed by his Romanian counterpart at the airport. Gun salutes were fired, national anthems of the two countries were played and President Khamene'i inspected the guard of honour.

City streets here were decorated with Iran-Romania flags and a big placard welcomed President Khamene'i in Persian.

A 1.18 billion dollar protocol was signed between the two countries in July last year calling for mutual cooperation in industries and commerce.

Talks Continue 23 Feb

AU2302115389 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] This morning, at the Palace of the State Council, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania, conducted official talks with Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The talks were attended by Romanian and Iranian officials. The sides discussed issues concerning the development of comprehensive cooperation between Romania and Iran. The two presidents decided that the members of the two delegations should examine, within several working groups, concrete ways and means to expand cooperation between the two countries in various fields of activity.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i also examined international problems.

New Uses for Geothermal Energy Examined

AU1802195589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1854 GMT 18 Feb 89

["Geothermal Energy as a New Power Source"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/2/1989—Early concerns for the exploitation of Romania's geothermal springs date back a long time ago. In Bihor (lying in the north-western part of the country), these springs have been used for medical and recreational purposes for more than a century. Two decades ago complex studies undertaken in that area highlighted the multipurpose character of that natural energy source which can be used for technological purposes, to heat dwellings and socio-cultural units, to supply domestic hot water, to cultivate algae, to support fish rearing. At present, 13 large end-users in Oradea, the administrative seat of Bihor County, and a powerful industrial centre employ this energy source. Noteworthy among those end-users are milk and meat processing plants, greenhouses, a.o. Furthermore, domestic hot water is supplied to more than 10,000 flats and to the town's every swimming pool. Numerous other localities, industrial enterprises, farming units and institutions in the respective county benefit from the advantage of geothermal energy. There are a number of wells that operate in distinct economic units. The use of geothermal springs in the county of Bihor provide for annual savings worth roughly 31,000 tonnes, the equivalent of conventional fuel.

Natural conditions to capitalize geothermal springs in Bihor are special: Owing to a thermal anomaly which experts call "diapirism"—whereby rocks tend to migrate to the outer layers, with the respective heat contribution—a surface thermal flow the equivalent of an average 25 megawatts by square meter is secured.

Geothermal springs are turned to good account in other areas of the country as well. Recently, experts identified an important geothermal aquifer at a depth of more than 2,000 meters lying in the northern part of the Romanian capital city. Its temperatures, in the area of the Otopeni International Airport, is of 69 degrees centigrade. The two wells located in the nearby commune of Otopeni provide for the heating of 750 flats, as well as of local schools, stores and institutions. A third well, whose discharge is four times larger, will meet the requirement of the other consumers—that is another 750 flats and of social units now under construction. According to estimations, the use of geothermal energy in Otopeni will provide for savings worth 2,500 tonnes the equivalent of oil in the first year of operation, to stand at roughly 5,000 tonnes the equivalent of oil annually in a final stage [sentences as received].

The fact is noteworthy that after ceding part of the normal heat of water when passing through "thermal points," the geothermal water is reinjected into the layer, which virtually provides for a continuous flow. All this secures the reheating of water to the initial temperature, prevents pollution and ensures a natural underground equilibrium.

Urbanization Strategy in Urban, Rural Areas

AU1802161189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0913 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES 18/2/1989—Supported by a balanced distribution of the production forces in the territory, the Romanian urbanization strategy helps the multilateral development of all counties and localities.

This strategy has radically changed the look of urban and rural settlements, which contributed to diminishing the essential differences between them. The number of towns grew from 187 in 1965 to 237 now, while their population increased from 6.1 million to 11.9 million, accounting for 52 percent in the total inhabitants. Over this period of time more than 3.3 million flats were built which meant an almost general reconstruction of towns, and so two thirds of the urban population moved to new houses. In the current five-year interval (1986-1990), the housing construction rate is particularly high—over 750,000 new flats are to be built.

However, the urbanization policy promoted by Romania does not aim at massively concentrating the population in towns but at raising the working and living conditions in the countryside to the level of those in towns. So, the current process of modernizing and organizing the Romanian villages implies the development of industrial-type activities, more particularly of the small industry, concurrently with the intensive growth of agriculture, which provides for facilities specific to towns. Likewise, 550 communes are to turn into agroindustrial towns, most of them having the characteristics of urban settlements.

According to the urban development programmes, till 1995 the housing construction question will be solved by and large, while the action of organizing and modernizing villages is to come to an end around the year 2000.

Khamene'i Ends Visit; Statements Published

Meets Economists

LD2202191989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0002 GMT 22 Feb 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 21 (TANJUG)—President of the Islamic Repubic of Iran 'Ali Khamene'i, in meeting prominent Yugoslav economists here tonight, expressed keen interest in improved economic cooperation with Yugoslavia. Iran is particularly concerned for transfers of technology from Yugoslavia, especially equipment, and for cooperation in the agricultural industry field.

At the meeting between Iranian President Khamene'i and representatives of several major Yugoslav work organizations, it was noted on both sides that the two countries' economic cooperation was trailing appreciably behind the needs as well as possibilities.

Such a conclusion is expected soon to result in accords on the construction of high dams, refineries and other economic projects, and also on large-scale land improvement work by Yugoslav firms in Iran.

Whereas before the revolution Iran's economic bonds were limited to a narrow circle of Western countries, today they are spreading to cover predominantly the states which Iran regards as friendly and which, in Khamene'i's words, also include Yugoslavia.

The value of Yugoslav-Iranian trade in 1984 reached around 600 million dollars. Later, due to various reasons, the two countries' trade fell to 200 million dollars. Noting that Iran and Yugoslavia visibly improved their mutual trade last year, both sides expressed the conviction that trade and economic cooperation as a whole would set out on the road of steady and marked growth.

President 'Ali Khamene'i today visited Sarajevo, where he toured the enterprise Energoinvest. In a talk with Energoinvest's director Bozidar Matic, the Iranian president was informed that, in view of Iran's difficulties regarding payments, Energoinvest was prepared to annually buy 300,000 tons of petroleum from Iran (not included in the Yugoslav-Iranian agreement) in order to secure the greater marketing of its products in Iran. Energoinvest is present on the Iranian market with its electric equipment and equipment for the gas and petroleum industry.

Khamene'i also visited the College of Philosophy in Sarajevo, i.e. the Department of Oriental Studies, where the Persian language and literature are studied.

Responds to Western Action

AU2202160889 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] The 3-day friendly and working visit of Iranian President Khamene'i to Yugoslavia was concluded with the signing of a memorandum on cooperation today.

Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Iranian President Khamene'i held final talks at the White Court. The main topic of the Yugoslav-Iranian talks at the highest level, as well as in the talks at the ministerial level, was the furthering of economic cooperation. The two sides also discussed the situation in the Gulf, the future of Iranian-Iraqi peace talks, and the preparations for the ninth summit of nonaligned countries.

Before these final talks, the Iranian president held a press conference for Yugoslav and foreign journalists. Most of the questions referred to the case of writer Rushdie and his book "The Satanic Verses." Here is a report by Milorad Denda:

After reiterating the views of the Iranian top leadership, according to which the book in question had hurt the sacred feelings of millions of Muslims, and according to which one cannot speak about the freedom of expression when the freedom is used for insults, the Iranian president said the following in reply to the expectations of the people present that more light would be shed on this unpleasant event and to the question whether there is anything that would finally solve the Rushdie affair:

[Begin Khamene'i recording in Persian with superimposed report in Serbo-Croatian] I think that there is no solution to Mr Rushdie's problem. The arrow has been launched toward the chosen target and has been traveling with the intention of reaching it, Khamene'i said, thus rejecting the possibility that a conciliatory solution can be found, at least as far as one can see from this illustrative metaphor. He added that those people who cooperate with, as he put it, arrogant world powers, should have consideration for human beings and their feelings; they should not insult and humiliate them, and should learn lessons from what is happening now.

According to Khamene'i, Rushdie spoke about the prophet and his associates and wives in an unacceptable, disparaging, and insulting way, thereby hurting the sacred feelings of at least 1 billion Muslims.

In reply to a question, he also said that there are no differences between him and Khomeyni regarding the Rushdie case, adding that an earlier statement made by Khamene'i in the West had been misinterpreted.

The Iranian president also answered several questions about the situation in the Gulf and the restoration of Iran after the 8-year war. He also announced that Iran will repay in kind any possible diplomatic actions from the West in the wake of the Rushdie affair. Finally, he positively assessed the talks in Belgrade.

Khamene'i said that prospects for the development of Yugoslav-Iranian relations are good. They have been developing and expanding. The talks in Belgrade touched upon bilateral, political, and economic relations, technological and cultural cooperation between the two countries, some important international questions, and activities within the Nonaligned Movement. The two sides also talked about the events in the regions to which they belong, as well as about Afghanistan, Lebanon, and Palestine. The fact that the two countries have similar or close views about many issues will contribute to the development of our relations, Iranian President Khamene'i said. He will conclude his visit to Yugoslavia today. [end recording]

Leaves Belgrade

LD2202160189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1525 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, left Belgrade today after the 3-day official friendly visit to Yugoslavia.

At Surcin's Belgrade airport, Khamene'i was seen off by Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency; Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs; Vukoje Bulatovic, member of the Serbian Presidency; Colonel-General Stevan Mirkovic, Chief of the General Staff of the SFRY Armed Forces; Aleksandar Bakocevic, president of the Belgrade Assembly; and other officials.

Iranian Foreign Minister Velayati and other officials accompanying the Iranian president on his visit to Yugoslavia also left Belgrade with President Khamene'i.

Joint Statement on Talks

LD2202191789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1719 GMT 22 Feb 89

["Joint Statement on Khamene'i's Visit to Yugoslavia"—TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—The talks between Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Repubic of Iran, took place in a cordial atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding, something which characterizes the relations between the two nonaligned countries, it says in the joint statement published today in Belgrade.

The personalities accompanying the Iranian president also had fruitful talks with their Yugoslav partners.

On this occasion there was an expression of the resolve of both sides to develop and further improve comprehensive bilateral cooperation and actively contribute to the strengthening of peace, security, and equitable international relations.

At the same time, the adherence of the two countries was stressed to the policy of nonalignment and the principles of independence, sovereignty, equality, and noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries, and to the inalienable right of all states and peoples to independently determine their own sociopolitical system and international position.

In the talks the two sides gave exhaustive consideration to the state of, and prospects for, bilateral relations and cooperation, and to the most topical international questions.

The two sides expressed satisfaction with the positive development of bilateral relations and the political dialogue between the two countries. They expressed readiness to further strengthen and expand bilateral cooperation in all fields, on the principles of equality, mutual respect, and mutual interests.

The two sides attach special importance to the need to promote economic cooperation. They expressed satisfaction at the results achieved in this sphere so far and stressed the need for the further advance of economic relations.

The two sides agreed to continue to develop economic and industrial cooperation by making it easier for Yugoslav economic forms to participate in Iran's development plans, especially in the areas of energy production, agriculture, industry, trade, technological cooperation, and others. In this context both sides agreed that increased economic cooperation between the two nonaligned countries would be conducive to the spirit of greater bilateral cooperation and in line with the efforts by developing countries to rely on their own resources.

The two sides stressed the importance of enhancing relations and cooperation in the spheres of science, education, culture, and information as factors of importance for greater mutual understanding and knowledge of each other.

When discussing the world situation, the two sides stated that there has been a positive development in international political relations and that the process toward greater stability and security in the world has been opened. They emphasized the importance of the ongoing process aimed at resolving major international problems and hotbeds of crisis and expressed hope that they would be successfully completed through the participation and efforts of all members of the international community.

The two sides devoted undivided attention to the situation in international economic relations. They agreed that nonuniform economic development in the world is the basic factor of the deepening crisis in international economic relations, which is above all reflected in the exacerbation of debt problems and the outflow of capital from developing countries, which clash with the latest positive trends in international political relations. They pointed out that efforts should be exerted to establish a more just economic system through increased economic, technical, and trade cooperation among developing countries and to adopt economic and development strategies, without which it is not possible to realize permanent and stable peace in the world.

The two sides noted with concern that the arms race, despite some positive developments in international relations in general, especially in the sphere of disarmament, continues its course both from the point of view of quantity and quality. Particular concern is caused by the use of new technological achievements for the production of increasingly perfected and deadlier types of arms and by the increasing danger that the arms race may be transferred to space. On this account the two sides are stressing the need for the international community to exert efforts, especially via the United Nations, toward halting the arms race and speeding up arms negotiations, attaching priority importance to nuclear and chemical disarmament and the measures for limiting and reducing other weapons intended for mass distruction. The two sides laid special emphasis on the vital need to redirect the funds made available by disarmament measures toward economic development, particularly in developing countries.

The two presidents drew attention to the need for an urgent conclusion of the convention on the ban of the development, production, storing, and use of chemical weapons and their destruction. They strongly condemned the use of chemical weapons, which is contrary to the Geneva Protocol of 1925, by any country and on any territory. Expressing their support to the final declaration of the Paris conference, they appealed for the application of the convention, in keeping with the existing international legal bans.

The two sides conducted particularly exhaustive talks on the present and future activities of the Nonaligned Movement. The Yugoslav side, in the process, provided information on the course of the preparations for the ninth nonaligned summit. In this context, stress was placed on the significance of this meeting of the nonaligned, the results and decisions of which should signify a quality contribution to the creation of a more just world, in which all countries will be guaranteed security and an equal position.

The two sides pointed to the need to strengthen the economic cooperation between the nonaligned countries and the developing countries with the aim of improving their economic position and strengthening their role in international relations.

Bearing in mind the importance of the fundamental principles of the Nonaligned Movement as a global, independent, nonbloc, international force, the two sides pointed to the need for its even more effective activity and influence to bring about changes in international relations.

The two sides stressed their support for the peaceful resolution of crises in the world on the basis of full respect for the sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity of all countries and the right of peoples to determine their own futures.

The president of the SFRY Presidency expressed satisfaction as a result of the decision by the Islamic Republic of Iran to accept UN Security Council Resolution 598. He welcomed the ceasefire between Iran and Iraq on 20 August 1988 and expressed hope that Resolution 598, and in this connection the UN secretary general's four-point plan, will be fully applied as soon as possible. In the talks also expression was the hope that the end of the 8-year war will provide a good basis for the reestablishment of peace and tranquility in the strategic region of the gulf.

Both sides stated energetically that the presence of foreign forces in the gulf not only harms peace, but still endangers security in that region. For that reason they called for the speedy and unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops from this strategic region.

In connection with the Afghanistan question, the two sides stressed support for the efforts underway to find a solution in a peaceful manner and in accordance with wishes of the people of this country, who should decide freely and without outside interference about its destiny and internal system. They stressed their full support for the preservation of the independent, autonomous, and nonaligned status of Afghanistan.

Considering the problem of the Palestinian crisis and question, the two sides gave full support to the struggle of the Palestinian people and its right to self-determination and an independent state of their own. Condemning repressive measures of the Israeli occupying forces against the innocent civilian Palestinian population, they noted that the struggle of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories is just.

They expressed concern over the situation in Lebanon. The two sides supported the right of the Lebanese people to autonomous decisionmaking on their own destiny on the basis of national reconciliation, and they expressed their full support for Lebanon's unity, independence, integrity, and national sovereignty.

In connection with the situation in southern Africa, the two sides repeated their full support for the peoples of this region and their struggle for the complete liquidation of colonialism and against the regime of apartheid and racial discrimination. Both sides expressed a desire for the rapid solution of the Namibia question in keeping with the will of the people of this country.

Considering the policy of detente, the two sides welcomed the results achieved in the sphere of reducing international tension. At the same time, they underscored the need for the detente policy to take a global and universal character and encompass all the regions of the world and all subjects of international relations.

'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY presidency, evaluated the visit by President Khamene'i to Yugoslavia and the talks conducted on this occasion as a significant contribution to better mutual knowledge and understanding and to the further improvement of relations and cooperation between the two countries in all spheres.

The Iranian side expressed sincere thanks to the SFRY Presidency and the peoples of Yugoslavia for their warm and friendly welcome and for the hospitality shown to President 'Ali Khamene'i and the delegation during their stay in Yugoslavia.

The president of the Islamic Republic of Iran invited the president of the SFRY Presidency to make an official visit to Iran. This invitation was accepted with pleasure and the date of the visit will be subsequently determined by diplomats.

Some 'Differences' Expressed

AU2202202989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Ejub Stipkovac commentary]

[Text] The 3-day official and friendly visit of Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i to Yugoslavia was concluded by the signing of a memorandum on cooperation today. This was his first visit to a European country. Here is a commentary by Radio Yugoslavia journalist Ejub Stipkovac:

The main emphasis of the Yugoslav-Iranian talks at the highest and ministerial levels was on how to improve cooperation. In this context some concrete agreements were reached. The Iranian side promised that all offers by the Yugoslav work organizations which want to take part in the rebuilding of Iran will be reviewed as soon as possible. The Iranians appreciate their experience and technology, and one can therefore expect some bigger business deals, especially if one considers the fact that the Iranian president said that he himself will follow the realization of what was agreed upon.

Among international issues, the situation in the Gulf, the prospects of the Iraqi-Iranian peace negotiations, and the situation in the Middle East and Afghanistan drew most attention. Yugoslavia reiterated its known views on these issues.

Considerable attention was devoted to the preparations for the ninth nonaligned countries summit and the work on modernizing the movement's activities. President Khamene'i expressed satisfaction that Yugoslavia will be the host of this summit.

One should also say that in the talks on some international issues, Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Iranian President 'Ali Khamene'i, expressed both identical views and some differences.

Today's news conference of the Iranian president drew particular attention, at least among journalists.

Most questions addressed to him referred to the fate of the well-known British writer of Indian origin, Salman Rushdie, who, in view of the Iranian authorities, insulted Prophet Muhammad in his book entitled The Satanic Verses.

Khamene'i said that there is no solution for the Rushdie problem and that the arrow has already been released and is on its way to the target. By this, Khamene'i especially wanted to let it be known that his previous statement on a possible pardon for the famous writer is not valid any longer.

During the visit, the Yugoslav side said that under the conditions of increasing democratization and interdependence in the world, it is difficult to comprehend that anybody, be it a country, nation, or an individual, could be deprived of the right to freedom, his own convictions, or the values he believes in if, of course, they do not threaten the integrity and freedom of others.

After all, this freedom and the right to freedom are the highest aims of our civilization, aims that are inseparable from the positive world trends.

Slovenes Protest Visit

LD2202224889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1953 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—Condemning the call by Ayatollah Khomeyni, Iranian religious leader, to kill writer Salman Rushdie, the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia stresses in its protest statement that calls for international terrorism are certainly not the road to understanding between nations. Here is the protest statement adopted by delegates of the Slovenian Assembly today:

"The Assembly of the SR of Slovenia severely condemns the call by Ayatollah Khomeyni, the religious and true leader of Iran, that writer Salman Rushdie be killed and that vengeful actions be taken against the publisher of his book "The Satanic Verses." While the whole civilized world condemns the call, our official political leaders receive 'Ali Khamene'i, Iranian prime minister and chairman of the Supreme Defense and Cultural Revolution Council [title as received], with honors. The Assembly assumes justifiably that this issue was discussed by Yugoslav and Iranian representatives during the Iranian prime minister's visit to our country, and it wants a clear and definite answer about this. We especially persist in this because we are convinced that such acts, besides having other dimensions, could have exceptionally negative consequences on the joint life of different religious communities in Yugoslavia.

"Calls for international terrorism, instigation, and rewards for criminal acts are certainly not the road to understanding between nations, to any constructive or even nonaligned politics, and they are not the road to widening freedom for individuals and nations and to affirming human rights. While we protest against any support to or agreement with the criminal call by Ayatollah Khomeyni, we warn Yugoslavia of its duty, as host of this year's nonaligned summit, to put the issue of human rights on the agenda of the nonaligned summit.

"When we protest against the call to murder and against another unacceptable gesture in our foreign policy, we are aware that in today's world it is necessary to respect different identities and cultures, but violence in the service of any cause whatsoever cannot be permitted," the statement by the Slovenian Assembly states.

Kosovo Strikes Escalate; Demands Reiterated

Support From Numerous Sectors

LD2202122489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1001 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—In a number of collectives in Kosovo today, workers of Albanian nationality continued to strike in support of the demands originally voiced by the Trepca miners.

Besides the miners in the Trepca shafts, a political strike was also resumed by those employed in the Gnjilane textile combine. A certain number of workers of Albanian nationality in the battery factory and in the Gosa plant in Gnjilane as well as in several collectives in the Ljipljani Municipality also stopped working. Today about 1,000 workers of the Balkan chemical and rubber plant in Suva Reka also continued to strike. There are also strikes in other municpalities. The essence of all their demands is that the announced changes to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia should not be adopted.

The workers in a number of collectives declined, as a smaller number did yesterday, to eat in workers' restaurants and canteens because they had brought their own food.

Situation Called 'Serious'

LD2202130189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1114 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—The political and security situation in Kosovo is becoming increasingly serious and tense. Workers of Albanian nationality in many collectives in Titova Mitrovica, Suva Reka, Pec, Urosevac, Pristina, Gnjilane, and other places are continuing their strikes today. This was stated at today's session of the Provincial Conference of the Kosovo SAWP by President of the conference Daut Jasanica.

Jasanica stressed that the working class of Kosovo was adhering to LCY policy, but that it must clearly dissociate itself from those who do not wish to see the situation in the province stabilized. Daut Jasanica appealed to the workers to return to work.

Miners Continue Standoff

AU2202153989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Milovoj Mihajlovic report]

[Text] Trepca miners in Stari Trg have spent the last 2 days in the mineshaft; there are about 1,100 miners there. Since this morning they have been refusing to talk to the communal and mine leadership. During the night a team of doctors who are caring for the miners entered the shaft. As we have learned from the Titova Mitrovica communal committee, the doctors' task is to persuade the miners to stop this senseless protest that is seriously threatening their health.

This morning, several miners came out of the shaft and invited the miners who have not taken part in the protest over the last 2 days to come down into the shaft because, as they said, later they will not let anybody join them.

Bahredin Osmani, president of the Titova Mitrovica Communal LC, told us that, judging by everything, Stipe Suvar, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, will come to Stari Trg tomorrow [23 February] morning. The miners have been informed about it but they are still persistent and demand that all their demands be met. Last night they warned that Rahman Morina has only 1 day left to tender his resignation or to be replaced.

The workers of the Trepca smelting works also continued their strike today. All three furnaces in the Trepca smelting plant are at a standstill. At present it is uncertain whether the furnaces will be extinguished. According to experts, extinguishing the furnaces would cause considerable damage to the production of lead in Yugoslavia because, if the furnaces are completely extinguished, which is only a few hours away from happening, the process of restarting them would take about 15 days.

The Trepca and Titova Mitrovica leaderships were trying all last night to persuade the smelting workers to continue their work, but they refused to talk. A similar thing happened to Belgrade radio and television journalists. They were literally thrown out of the smelting plant by the workers. The order of the territorial defense command did not help either. The workers do not want to continue production. In this work organization we learned that some 50 workers of the Serbian nationality are ready to continue the work on smelting furnaces but are being prevented by Albanian workers.

The protests of Albanian workers continued in work organizations throughout the province. They are mainly refusing to eat in the canteens and regard the demands of the Trepca workers as their own.

They demand that the amendments to the Serbian Constitution are not adopted, that Rahman Morina be replaced, and that, as they say, an end be put to the wrong policy toward Albanians. There are increasingly frequent demands for the replacement of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium and that a resignation be also tendered by the Serbian leadership.

The miners of the Kisnica, Ajvalija [names indistinct] mines are also protesting. Work was also stopped by a number of the workers of the Vineks of Vitina, the Karacevo of Kosovska Kamenica, the Balkan of Suva Reka, Djeravica of Decani, and some work organizations in Klina and Pec.

Serbs and Montenegrins have dissociated themselves from these protests and are continuing with production wherever this is possible. About 500 students of the Technical Faculty of Pristina held a protest meeting today and extend support to Trepca miners in Stari Trg.

Journalists were today presented with an appeal by 250 intellectuals of Albanian nationality from Kosovo in which they demand from the Serbian Assembly not to adopt the constitutional amendments which are changing the existing relations between the republic and the provinces. The intellectuals are proposing that Vojvodina's status be regulated differently from that of Kosovo. The Yugoslav public has been asked to support the efforts of Albanians from Kosovo to prevent the constitutional changes in Serbia.

According to a liberal estimate some 10,000 workers are taking part in the protest in Kosovo today.

At present the Kosovo Executive Council is to hold a session on the newly created situation in the province.

LCY Officials Arrive

AU2202160989 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Seven members of the LCY Central Committee and the Serbian LC Central Committee, who will be working on the difficult situation in Kosovo, arrived today in Pristina.

LC Organizations Issue Stances

LD2202212989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1734 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—The Presidium of the committee of basic LC organizations in federation organs and organizations today held an emergency session in connection with the latest events in Kosovo. On the basis of the available reports and compiled material, the Presidium adopted stands formulated in six points. The statement is as follows:

1. The situation in Kosovo is extremely serious and dramatic. The exacerbation of the general circumstances and situation in the province is assessed by the Presidium as confirmation that the separatist movement shows an ability to realize its goals through new political forms and by carrying out subtle political-subversive actions by legal political means in order to achieve collective national obstruction, and the blockade of constitutional changes in Serbia, and to prevent the realization of the LCY Central Committee conclusions on Kosovo. The current exacerbation of the situation in Kosovo is the best proof that the LCY leadership and top organs of power in the country have not yet fully realized the depth, seriousness, and complexity of the situation and problems in Kosovo and that the measures taken so far cannot help eliminate the causes.

2. The Presidium of the committee points out that the brunt of responsibility for the resolving of the situation in Kosovo is borne by the LC leaderships, above all the LCY Central Committee Presidium, the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, as well as the SFRY Presidency, the SFRY Assembly, and the FEC.

3. The committee Presidium supports every political action and initiative that proceeds from the already adopted stands of the LCY and contributes to overcoming the present situation and to finding more permanent solutions to problems in Kosovo, in other words those which can be a offensive-like reply to the changed tactics of Albanian separatism and nationalism.

4. The Presidium indicates that the most responsible leaders from the federation and Serbia should urgently go to Kosovo, including those whose presence is explicitely demanded—such as Stipe Suvar, Slobodan Milosevic, and Ali Sukrija—but thinks that for their departure for Kosovo there should be a political platform established with priority points of action and a clearly defined and strong demarcation line that presumes the existence of basically operational replies: What can and what cannot be accepted, what and how it should be done, and on which points there must not be any concession even if the situation continues to be further aggravated.

5. The Presidium stresses that even in these circumstances the newly arisen situation should be overcome, above all by political means and by insuring the functioning of the system's institutions with full responsibility of the entire LCY.

6. The Presidium gives Communists in federation organs and organizations the task of stepping up activities aimed at carrying out their regular duties, especially, those established in the Yugoslav program on Kosovo, and those carried out by authorized federal organs in the present situation.

Foundry Resumes Production

LD2202202189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—Workers from Trepca's lead foundry in Zvecan agreed to start up the blast furnace in the foundry and continue normal production at about 1700 [1600 GMT] today after the talks with officials from the municipality and the combine.

The furnace was closed down yesterday because of protests by workers of Albanian nationality and at the moment enormous efforts are being made to continue production.

In Stari Trg mine the situation is getting increasingly complicated. The miners do not want to leave the pit until they receive a written guarantee that the constitutional provisions of 1974 are not going to be changed; they also want Rahman Morina to resign from his position as president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium. At the moment the miners are not allowing anyone to either enter or leave the pit.

About 700 students and schoolchildren from Titova Mitrovica today gave their support to the demands of Stari Trg miners. They dispersed after a protest meeting in a student cafeteria this evening.

Presidium in Emergency Session

LD2202234289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2125 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—At its 22 February emergency session, the LCY Central Committee Presidium examined the political and security situation in connection with the latest protest gatherings of workers of the Albanian nationality in a number of collectives in Kosovo.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium appeals to workers and calls on them to end protest gatherings and work stoppages because they hinder and prevent the realization of the tasks established by the LCY Central Committee and are more conducive to hostile forces, especially Albanian separatism and nationalism and other types of nationalism. In addition, their ocntinuation can therefore have even more serious consequences for the situation and relations in Kosovo, Serbia, and the entire country.

The members, organizations, and organs of the Kosovo LC, as well as other sociopolitical organizations, should direct their activity toward an urgent stabilization of the situation by means of active work among workers and youth. Also, the situation that has arisen requires the responsible and efficient commitment of all authorized organs aimed at preventing harmful consequences in the production and other spheres.

Proceeding from united support for changes to the Serbian Constitution voiced by the LCY Central Committee and the LC leaderships of all the republics and Vojvodina, the LCY Central Committee Presidium once again stresses that the proposed changes to the Serbian Constitution must be adopted right away. The Kosovo and Serbian LC's are responsible for unmasking misinformation concerning the goals and character of these constitutional changes, especially the changes to the Serbian Constitution. They also should take energetic action to eliminate undemocratic pressures on the institutions that decide on constitutional changes.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium gives its full support to the political activities of Communists and the leaderships of the Kosovo and Serbian LC's in overcoming the problems created by these gatherings and in their consistent and complete implementation of the tasks of the 17th and 20th LCY Central Committee sessions on Kosovo, which is their primary obligation and responsibility.

The LCY organs, together with the Serbian LC organs, will take part directly and even more intensely in activities of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee to put in order and stabilize the situation created by the latest protest gatherings in Kosovo. The most responsible officials of the LCY and the Serbian LC, including the president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the president of the Serbian LC Presidium, will be directly engaged in this.

The LCY Central Committee Presidium stresses that the only way to stabilize the political situation in Kosovo is to implement the stances and tasks on Kosovo established by the LCY Central Committee energetically, consistently, and unhesitantly. This concerns, first of all, the stabilization of intranational relations, the return of intranational trust, and the securing of equality and freedom for all nations and nationalities in Kosovo. For this purpose, the creation of a united socialist front of Albanians, Serbs, Montenegrins, and members of all other nations and nationalities living in Kosovo to fight Albanian separatist nationalism and all other nationalisms is necessary, the statement from the session states.

Conditions for Talks Set

LD2302091289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0814 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Excerpt] Titova Mitrovica, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—For a full 72 hours Trepca miners have been down in their mine in Stari Trg. They continue to adhere to their demands for a written guarantee that the main principles of the 1974 Constitution will not be changed, i.e., that the section of the Constitution on which there has been no agreement will remain in its present form. The miners seem to be particularly adamant about their demand that Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, resign immediately. Otherwise, they say, they will continue to stay in their galleries.

They have also put forward a number of conditions for their talk with Stipe Suvar, LCY CC Presidium president. They will talk to him, they say, providing he can guarantee that the named comrades will resign, Aziz Abrasi, Trepca managing board chairman, said at an extraordinary session of the Titova Mitrovica LC Municipal Committee held late last night. Abrasi stressed that the situation in the collective was so difficult that it can be described as tragic. According to him, the miners refused to take food yesterday and will accept only water and medicines. They also refused to talk or meet aktivists from outside the pit. [passage omitted]

Urosevac Said 'Paralyzed'

AU2302114289 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report on the latest events in Kosovo]

[Text] The feeling of uncertainty resulting from the strikes of ethnic Albanian miners continues in Kosovo today. The miners in the Stari Trg mine are spending their 3rd day in the shaft. The situation in Kisnica, Ajvalija, Goles, and Novo Brdo mines is similar. Ethnic Albanian workers have stopped production in most Kosovo collectives.

The most dramatic situation today is in Urosevac, where the town's transportation system is paralyzed as a result of the strike of the workers of the Kosovotrans Organization. It has become more difficult for the population to get supplies because all shops owned by ethnic Albanians have been closed. Private craftsmen in Pec and in almost all of Kosovo have also been closed.

The leaderships of all communes are holding sessions with a view toward finding a solution for this dramatic situation, which threatens to completely paralyze business life in the province.

Ethnic Albanian workers are persistent in their demands for the renewed provincial party leadership to be replaced and for constitutional amendments in Serbia to be blocked.

Students Protest in Support of Strikers

Thousands Participate

LD2202192889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1855 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—About 2,000 students of Albanian nationality at Pristina University gathered this evening near their student residence halls as a sign of their support for the demands of the miners. After standing around for a short time, and at the insistence of political workers of the municipality and the university, the students entered the nearby "25th May" sports hall.

A group of political activists is talking with them and trying to persuade them to disperse.

Demands Made

LD2202222889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2025 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—About 5,000 students of Albanian nationality from Pristina University gathered this evening at the "25 May" sports hall to express, as they are popularly calling it these days in Kosovo, solidarity with the miners of Stari Trg. Their demands are identical to all those heard today in many places, the essence of which is: no change to the 1974 Constitution and the tendering of resignations by Rahman Morina, Ali Sukrija, and Husamedin Azemi from their present functions in the LCY. [passage omitted]

The first speaker called on the students to remain in the hall until the resignation of Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium. This invitation was greeted with enthusiasm. [passage omitted]

Students were immediately addressed by Dr Muhamet Bicaj, deputy rector of the university, who invited them to initiate constructive dialogue and behavior. He noted that solidarity with the Trepca miners could be expressed in a better way than that demanded by the previous speakers. [passage omitted]

About 20 students alone spoke in the first 3 hours of the meeting. During this time the atmosphere was becoming increasingly heated. [passage omitted]

The coverage of this protest meeting has been made very difficult for journalists, especially those writing for newspapers published in Serbo-Croatian, and photographers and television cameramen are not allowed to take any pictures.

After 4 hours of talking, it was decided that a telegram petition should be sent to Kosovo workers and to Kosovo, Serbian, and Yugoslav top party organs. Then, groups formed to sign this petition. The condition was voiced that they would disperse only when "all the demands of the miners are met." Threats of new gatherings were heard if this does not happen.

The talks ended, but the students remain in the hall and can be heard to occasionally chant "Trepca, Trepca" and other slogans.

Crowds Continue To Gather

LD2302084889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0737 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—About 1,000 students of Albanian nationality spent last night in the 25 May hall at Pristina University, while the Trepca miners resumed their stay in the mining shafts, demanding that their demands be met.

This portrait of the fourth day of strikes and protests in Kosovo is completed by information that there is no electricity in some parts of Pristina.

As of this morning, the students of Albanian nationality are continuing to arrive in the 25 May sports hall in continuation of their protest gatherings. They are increasing the militant tone of the list of the demands which were put forward some days ago by the Trepca miners. Their main demands are the rejection of the amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and of cadre renewal, as well as insisting that Stipe Suvar and Slobodan Milosevic visit Kosovo.

There has so far been no reaction in connection with yesterday's statement from the extraordinary session of the LCY Central Committee and the appeal by the top party leadership for the settlement and stabilization of the situation in Kosovo.

University Rector Makes Appeal

LD2302131689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1059 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—Yesterday's and today's gatherings of students of Albanian nationality and the boycott of classes are very damaging and are intended to destroy the very fabric of our university. This kind of support for the protest gatherings of Albanians in our province is unnecessary and will not help efforts to resolve any of the problems, Dr Stevan Baljosevic, rector of Pristina University, said in an appeal to students, lecturers, and the university staff.

An appeal by a group of Albanian intellectuals was signed by several tens of lecturers from this university. This is yet anotehr indication of our impotence to distance ourselves from hostile activities by Albanian nationalists and separatists, who were behind the counterrevolutionary events of 1981. I therefore call on all students, lecturers and staff at Pristina University to distance themselves from all hostile, antisocialist and anti-Serbian manifestations, and to give support to the efforts to stabilize our society, the rector says in his appeal.

He also calls on the students to return to their classrooms and laboratories, and on the lecturers to return to work today, as a sign of genuine support for joint and united efforts to facilitate progress of both our university and Yugoslav society as a whole.

Albanian Protests Having 'Negative Impact'

LD2202222689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2053 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—The Communists of three basic organizations of the 17th local community of the Kosovo Polje LC noted at this evening's joint session that the latest protests by workers and students of Albanian nationality are a continuation of the November demonstrations.

The latest protests by Albanians—stressed the Kosovo Polje Communists—are having a very negative impact on the mood of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo. This is a new kind of pressure being put on them to emigrate, it was said, and concern was voiced about what could happen if demonstrations by Albanians start again throughout Kosovo Polje.

Unless the situation changes considerably, we have no other choice but to collectively emigrate from Kosovo, said several participants in this evening's discussion.

The party meeting in Kosovo Polje gave resolute support to the new Kosovo leadership. The Communists stressed that there must be no shirking of constitutional changes that will ensure the equality of all citizens in Kosovo; there must also be persistence in changing the policy which has led to the fact that Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo now form only 7 percent of the population, compared with 45 percent in 1945.

Kosovo Intellectuals Protest Proposed Changes

AU2202201089 Pristina Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Members of the Kosovo cultural and scientific establishment today appealed to the Assembly of the SR of Serbia and Yugoslav public opinion for the institutional defense and the affirmation of Kosovo's constitutional position on the basis of the SFRY Constitution.

In the appeal, signed by 215 intellectuals, the Serbian Assembly is asked not to approve those amendments that change the existing relationship between the republics and provinces. They also ask Yugoslav public opinion to support their demands.

The appeal, which was also addressed to the information media, states that Kosovo's constitutional position is an especially real and emotional value of the province's population. Kosovo must not and cannot become, therefore, the political and supranational property of any of the nationalities within or outside the province. The appeal also invokes the idea that the truncation of any of the institutionalized constitutional rights of any nationality would be a permanent cause of dissatisfaction.

The Assembly of the SR of Serbia is asked to ratify only those amendments that are not related to any changes in the relationship between republics and provinces.

As for the province of Vojvodina, the appeal specifies that its status within the framework of the Republic of Serbia can be regulated differently, if this is the desire of its peoples.

The Assembly of the SR of Serbia, the appeal states, in its wisdom, must take into consideration the feelings of the majority of the population in Kosovo in favor of the preservation of the curent constitutional position of this province.

The appeal stresses that responsibility for political crises must always lie with the side insisting on changes of a political nature when these do not conform with common feelings and interests.

The Albanian intellectuals from Kosovo also call on Yugoslav public opinion, and especially Serbian public opinion, to support their appeal, which is inspired by the dearest values of the socialist revolution and of the political emancipation of all nations and nationalities. They stress, in particular, that pragmatic political assessments about the so-called disinformation of the Albanian population in Kosovo concerning the substance and orientations of the proposed constitutional changes do not only underrate one of the peoples of Yugoslavia, but also the emancipatory processes that have taken place in Yugoslavia.

The appeal goes on to say that the Albanian protests against constitutional changes are legitimate. The Albanian intellectuals of Kosovo ask with what right is the degree of political self-management being narrowed. This political right and the present constitutional position of Kosovo were sanctioned in the seventies through the common political will. The appeal says also that the truncation of the constitutional position of Kosovo would cause among Albanians an objective feeling that something belonging to them is being taken away from them. Further on, the appeal says that it is the obligation and incumbent and decisive role of the Kosovo Assembly to institutionally defend the constitutional position of Kosovo, and not to give its approval to any amendment that would truncate the present rights of the province.

Kosovo Pamphlets Urge Albanians To Rebel

LD2302130589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1220 GMT 23 Feb 89

[Text] Pristina, 23 Feb (TANJUG)—Pamphlets with a hostile content, in which the Albanian people are called upon to engage in rebellion and blood-letting, appeared last night in Pristina and several other towns in Kosovo. In the leaflet of the Albanian nationalists and separatists, the leadership of Kosovo, Serbia and Yugoslavia are attacked, and it says that "the barrel of the gun must now do the talking" with them.

The Greater Albanian nationalists and separatists are angered in particular by the unity of the provincial, republican and Yugoslav leadership and their resolve to consistently implement the stances and conclusions of the LCY Central Committee on Kosovo.

Slovenian Assembly Adopts Security Statement

LD2302004189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2059 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—Today delegates of the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia adopted a special statement in which they express a serious concern over the phenomenon of the physical settling of accounts with persons who publicly express suspicion in certain political truths or political authorities.

The delegates that the appropriate bodies of the SFRY Assembly start immediately considering the latest cases of settling accounts with journalists. They demand that these cases be clarified and ask for a full responsibilty of culprits. "We especially ask that the SFRY Assembly demand that the official organs in the SR of Montenegro clarify the case of journalist Milovan Brkic."

"Without democratic political culture—the minimum of which is the public security of socially active persons, especially when they represent the minority in a social environment—we cannot expect that Yugoslavia will undergo a necessary and successful transformation into a modern, developed state," the delegates of the Sociopolitical Chamber of the Assembly of the SR of Slovenia concluded.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Assembly Accepts Resignations

Stojanovic Leaves Presidency

LD2202192689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1347 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—The delegates of all three chambers of the Assembly of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina today approved the resignation of Nikolay Stojanovic, a member of the Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina; they decided on this step 2 days before the Assembly session, because of his involvement in the Neum affair.

In the voting 115 delegates were in favor of approving the resignation of Nikola Stojanovic and 69 were in favor of him being relieved of his duties, something which clearly indicates the differing views in connection with the taking of sanctions against officials who build villas with the help of loans on ridiculously favorable terms. At this session the resignation was also accepted of Bozidar Tadic, member of the delegation of the Assembly of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the Yugoslav Assembly's Chamber of Republics and Provinces, who submitted his resignation because of his villa in Neum.

Six Officials Dismissed

LD2202220689 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1928 GMT 22 Feb 89

[Text] Sarajevo, central Yugoslavia, February 22 (TANJUG)—The parliament of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, central Yugoslavia, today accepted resignations offered by another two republican officials involved in the affair of misusing house-building credits for the construction of private villas at the summer seaside resort of Neum, Yugoslavia's middle Adriatic coast.

Nikola Stojanovic, member of Bosnia-Hercegovina's Republican Presidency, and Boza Tadic, Bosnia-Hercegovina's delegate to the Federal Assembly of Yugoslavia, are only two in a string of Bosnia-Hercegovina's officials who, at very low interest rates, used credits meant for solving the problem of homeless people for building their own weekend cottages.

It was last Thursday, at the 21st session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee (CC), that Stojanovic was relieved of his duties on this party body. At that time and for the same reason, another three high-ranking party officials of the same republic were dismissed, namely Milanko Renovica, Mate Andric, and Hrvoje Istuk.

The relieved officials stated at that time that they accept the party working group's assessment of their moral responsibility, but also claimed that they neither did violate regulations dating back to the time of their using the said credits nor were intending to cause damage to society.

The assembly of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina today relieved another six republic officials of their duties and started proceedings for dismissing nine more.

According to what was heard at this session, this will not put an end to the Neum affair to make public "new names", "bypassed" while naming involved in the affair so far, was announced.

FRG Spokesman Gives Reply on Visa Issue

LD1802100989 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1324 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Bonn, Feb 17 (TANJUG)—Spokesman of the Federal Republic of Germany Foreign Ministry Juergen Chrobog said today that the possibility of introducting visas for Yugoslavs is not a matter to be settled between today and tomorrow.

Answering TANJUG correspondent's question whether Bonn already has an answer to the letter Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar has sent to his West German colleague Hans-Dietrich Genscher, Chrobog said that the entire matter is being examined, adding that a very serious process is in question which the Foreign Ministry is giving an intensive and careful consideration.

Next Monday experts on "asylum seekers" will report to the West German parliament and propose measures aimed at preventing the abuse of the right to political asylum in the federal republic.

Special commissions of the parties making up the ruling Christian-Democratic coalition in Bonn should next week complete an analysis of the program of measures aimed at preventing the abuse of the right to an asylum. One of the measures which conservative MPs advocate is the introduction of visas for Yugoslavs.

Ante Markovic Receives Support of Economists

AU1702201889 Belgrade Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Ante Markovic, future president of the FEC, today received the full support for his program from members of the Yugoslav Economists Federation section for science and members of the Federal Economic Council at a meeting in Belgrade. Milorad Jovic has the details:

The meeting lasted 7 and ½ hours without the slightest interval or interruption, so it was a miracle that those who were the last of the 40 speakers to speak had enough strength to talk for 15 or 20 minutes.

The opinions that were heard did not deviate in the least from what was expected. The mistakes of the outgoing government were stressed and Ante Markovic's program was given full support. The economists pointed out to the president-designate many theoretical and practical possibilities for putting the program's theses into practice as soon as possible.

Making production dynamic and bringing down inflation will definitely be the first task of the new FEC. However, the economists agree that some limitations exist—above all, those connected with the continued strong influence of the state and political structure on economic trends. This is despite the first steps which have already been taken in the reform of the economy; we primarily mean the Law on Enterprises, about which few nice words were heard.

At the end of the session, Ante Markovic said that after all the talks that he has had in the last few weeks, he finds it difficult to say anything before he speaks to the delegates in the SFRY Assembly. Nevertheless, [begin Markovic recording] there have been very many very good views, instructions, and suggestions, and, of course, there have also been contradictions, but is there anything more contradictory than the situation in which we find ourselves? It would be a wonderful miracle if there were also no contradictions in the conclusions which emerge from the search for the solution of a way out of such a situation.

However, what I would say nevertheless encourages me in all this is that most of the comrades who took part in the discussion have looked for solutions and shown their readiness to get involved in looking for a solution.

Apart from that, something else that seems to at least encourage me—and perhaps this is a result of the depth of the crisis in which we find ourselves, although that is not certain—is that an awareness is maturing and, one could say, a critical mass of knowledge which is able to seek and find a solution. This should be motivated together with the practice (?of answering questions). [end Markovic recording]

Finally, it should be said: The economists said a lot about efficiency even before they repeated not only the well-known stands, but what was heard several times at the session itself.

Nevertheless, the most important thing is that science is ready to be of use to the next FEC in whatever way. Ante Markovic often stressed that he in fact expects a lot from economic experts, both in devising the program and in the implementation of specific measures.

Milan Kucan Speaks on VESTNIK Anniversary

LD1902115489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 18 Feb 89

[Text] Murska Sobota, 18 Feb (TANJUG)—VESTNIK, the organ of the SAWP municiapl conferences of Murska Sobota, Gornja Radgona, Lendava, and Ljutomer, today marked the 40th anniversary of its first edition. At a formal ceremony, the jubilee of the local Murska Sobota radio station, which has been in operation for decades, was marked at the same time. Radio Murska Sobota has two programs—in Slovene and in Hungarian—and, together with VESTNIK, and the organ NEPUJSAG, which is published in Hungarian, represent a media family which supplies news and current affairs from home and abroad in this part of Slovenia.

Speaking at the formal ceremony on the occasion of both of these anniversaries, Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, dwelt in particular on the current questions of sociopolitical and economic life.

As a people and as a society we have known for a long time what we want and what we desire, because there exists hisorical and general social agreement on this, and on socialism, on self-management, and on the life of equal nations and nationalities in a democratic, federative Yugoslavia, in which the authentic content and orientation of Slovene society and the Slovene republic is protected. However, the results now are, unfortunately, far from what we expected. Questions are justifiably being posed: Have we perhaps not chosen the wrong path, a wrong path and means for reviving our democratic social project, which was enmeshed with the idea of socialism and which in its essence represents the social liberation of the individual and his work, Kucan stressed.

Speaking about what is the best way to affirm the renewed project of socialism, Kucan stressed that it is simply a question of those activities which will lead toward a richer life—socialism to suit people. It is a question of a program based on real possibilities and contradictions, which will take into account objective limitations, and which will be a constant challenge to development, taking our situation as a basis. It must be realistic and include all that is vital and what is possible and necessary in the not too distant future. Similarly, it must also include the beginnings of those deeper, more far-reaching changes which are possible, because in the heart of today's society, in the existing crisis and contradictions, in the dissatisfaction and ambitions of people, what is to come exists at the beginnings of the new. This must be built upon, because anything else will remain fiction.

An entry into this program, said Kucan, is presented by social reforms. For this reason, the new government, which is to begin to realize these, should be sincerely supported. The program now being successfully presented by the future FEC president, after so many years of great sacrifice in life due to inflation, does not promise new sacrifices or restrictions. But, it does guarantee to free—with measures of economic and development policy—the motivating mechanisms, and to try to create conditions in which people will have the possibility and the opportunity to struggle—with their work and creativity, for success and results, to take care of themselves, their own security, and their future.

This is a call for a general offensive against the crisis, and this should be supported, said Kucan, adding that this should not be done simply with best wishes for success, but with work, creativity, and the conviction that possible failure would close off the future for our people and would close off future involvement in a developed Europe.

Speaking about reform, Kucan stressed that he did not agree with those who claimed that the struggle for reform had been won when the people had acted and carried out an "antibureaucratic revolution."

As a society, this still awaits us, because the socioeconomic and political foundations on which bureaucracy, including party bureaucracy—that greatest opponent of reform, democracy, and progress—renews itself have still not in any way been removed. These foundations in social, and particularly in production, relations will not be removed if the current disputes, which are above all within the party and between the republics, continue, disputes which destabilize society and call for great order [as received]. Not to oppose this means to definitely lose the possibility for developing democratic socialism, to compromise this idea and to give up the ambition of developing Yugoslavia as a democratic, equal, and modern federal state in which each nation will be able to have freedom of development and self-affirmation, where everyone will be powerful, but not at the expense of others and not at the expense of the community. A develoment, then, which will not place a question mark over the basic principles of the 1974 Constitution and destroy the already affirmed achievements of the economic, political, cultural, and national freedom of all nations and nationalities, among whom there are no historical and nonhistorical nations and nationalities, or nations and nationalities with statehood and without it, those with greater or lesser merits and rights, stressed Kucan. [as received]

In the name of our common future and responsibility for it, we must put an end to illusions and self-will, anticipating unrealistic opportunities, opportunism, nationalist demands, cheap populism, an uncritical view toward the past, and political manipulation. All these are the ideological deposits of the past, which do not belong to the contemporary world. Words, however big they are, however rich and full of content and meaning, nevertheless, remain words if they do not grow into a realistically directed path for people toward more successful and more effective work, toward social activity, stressed Kucan.

Speaking about the importance of newspapers, Kucan in particular pointed out the importance of the dimension of journalistic work relating to the preservation of people's integrity and the dignity of people who are the subject of media "treatment." A part of our journalistic profession has, in these circumstances, in this moral crisis, failed the test as far as human dignity and responsibility are concerned.

A way of writing is affirming itself which proclaims a man, in particular the public and political worker, to be guilty, without any obligation to prove this guilt. The accused is not even able to simply defend his innocence and his good name. It is simply claimed that a man has been left without any reputation and dignity and the question of what took away that reputation and dignity from him is not allowed. Are these his own mistakes which he has made or are they schemes and lies about what he should have done or did not do? The type of argument using the words "it is obvious that the man is guilty," about a man's possible objective responsibility, are words which only political movements and societies which finished tragically have allowed themselves, a far cry from the monuments which mankind erects to fights for democracy, freedom, and progress. Here, history is very eloquent, but it is a poor teacher. In this respect, the journalistic courts of honor would have enough work from Ljubljana to Skopje, said Kucan at a formal ceremony to mark 4 decades of VESTNIK and 3 decades of the Murska Sobota radio station.

Tupurkovski Addresses Macedonian Journalists

AU1702182989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Feb 89 p 3

[N.B. report "Influence Through Arguments"]

[Text] Skopje, 15 Feb—Days of Macedonian Journalism began today in Skopje with a speech on reform by Dr Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the SFRY Presidency. The program of this year's festival also envisages speeches by Dr Bozidar Colakovic, president of the SAWPY Federal Conference, and Metodi Petrovski, president of the Macedonian SAWP Republican Conference, about truth in the public word, as well as a speech by Petar Gosev, member of the Macedonian LC Central Committee Presidium, on economic reform.

This year's winners of prizes for their life's work in journalism are Sveto Serafimov, foreign affairs commentator of NOVA MAKEDONIJA, and the commentator Djordje Jankovic, editor at the VJESNIK information center in Skopje. The annual first prize was not awarded, and the second was shared equally between Jovan Basevski, journalist at KOMUNIST, and Zoran Ivanov, a TV Skopje journalist. The third prize was shared equally between Mirjana Dimovska, TV Skopje journalist, and the editorial board of Radio Stip.

Dr Vasil Tupurkovski stressed, among other things, that there is a structural crisis in the socialist communities throughout the world, caused by voluntaristic intervention by party-state structures, which resulted in the superiority of the party-state apparatus in socialism. This did not allow the development of initiative, and therefore a deep-rooted reform was necessary, as well as the democratization of relations in both society and the party in socialist societies.

"Reform of the LCY should be directed toward the liberation of democracy within the party and of the struggle for ideas. The LC must also decide more clearly on whether it will be a cadre or a mass party," stressed Tupurkovski. Speaking about the new alternative and other movements, as well as the attempts by new political parties to appear on the scene, Dr Tupurkovski said that political pluralism was necessary for all progressive socialist ideas and that the LC must spread its influence through the force of arguments.

Dr Tupurkovski also spoke about the public information media, stressed that their role was very important at the present time in society, and emphasized that journalists should contribute to the integration of the Yugoslav information arena. Citing the example of a Radio Television Skopje commentary on a speech by Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee, Dr Tupurkovski stressed that this was an example of how arguments were not respected, and that other communities could get the impression that this was a reaction to some articles which have appeared about Macedonia in Slovene newspapers. Ljubomir Jakimovski, director general of Radio Television Skopje, reacted to this by saying that Kucan was criticized in the commentary for the sentence that the 20th plenum had stripped the LC bare and for failure to react to the entire situation in the SR of Slovenia. He added that Kucan was also criticized because the subjective socialist forces in this republic have not clearly dissociated themselves from attacks on the Yugoslav People's Army, attacks on LC policy, and so forth.

Montenegrin Group Creates Human Rights Committee

LD1802115189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 17 Feb 89

[Text] Titograd, 17 Feb (TANJUG)—For the purpose of improving, respecting, and protecting human rights and the legal protection of citizens, the Conference of the Montenegrin Socialist Youth Federation today set up a committee for human rights. This body, it was explained, will work expertly, morally, and responsibly in the spirit of the best traditions of international acts.

The basic function of the committee is to act primarily to remove the causes which could lead to the violation of human rights. In individual cases, the committee will carry out specific functions to monitor the work of legislative, judicial, and administrative organs. Through its activity, this body should also contribute to the greater dissemination of information to citizens on their rights and how they are practiced.

The committee which is to implement this initiative numbers 30 members and is made up of experts from various backgrounds, as well as representatives of various state and political structures.

Electoral Procedure Scrutinized by BORBA

AU1702175689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11-12 Feb 89 p 1

[Zdravko Huber commentary: "Gentlemen Spoil Democracy"]

[Text] Experience of many years should have been amassed in putting socialist democracy into practice in order for some basic institutions—without which there are no democratic relations in any society, regardless of its class classification—to again be drawn into the political spotlight. In principle, the creators of the Yugoslav political system realized a long time ago that it would not be wise to proclaim the whole system a one-party system on the basis of the arithmetical fact that only one party operates in a legal political environment, but they were also very reserved toward all institutions of the so-called formal democracy which were applied in multiparty systems. In this way, the thesis, according to which the existence of only one party does not necessarily also have to mean the existence of a one-party political monopoly, for a long time was regarded more as an emancipated, critical self-recognition by a governing structure than as a real political relation.

The caution with which our "real" democracy recognized the authentic value of direct elections, several candidates, and secret ballots best bears witness to the entrenchment of its one-party syndrome, regardless of the fact that it in principle rejected a monopoly a long time ago and decided on (indeed, nonparty) pluralism.

The argument about the futility of multiparty competition and the potential dangers which such a system could have for our multifaceted heterogeneous community was also a good alibi for many people not to put their own monopolistic position to the test. As has already been said, much time had to pass for it to be officially admitted that the stronger rejuvenation of the electoral process could, indeed, threaten someone's monopoly, but that it could not and would not unburden a community which likes to say that it is neither monolithic nor monopolistic, but is quite afraid of its own plurality and does not like to show it publicly. The gradual rehabilitation of universal democratic principles and a new way of putting them into practice in a socialist democracy bear witness to the changes that are now taking place in the latest stage of the "transitional period." Along with general support for this democratic renewal of socialism, one can, however, also perceive some occurrences in the aforementioned new way of applying traditional democratic institutions which are repeatedly—like a shameful jack-in-the box—revealing the one-party syndrome of socialist democracy.

How can one otherwise explain the phenomenon of candidates declining their nominations and candidacies for different political functions en masse quite a long time before the elections take place, that is, before the actual decisionmaking by the electoral body? This is precisely what has been happening in the last few days. So, we do not continue, the public has received through the SAWP five letters in a row from five well-known politicians declining the proposals that they be candidates for members of the SFRY Presidency. [sentence as published]

At first sight, this phenomenon could be interpreted as a fall in the ratings for the profession of a politician. A furious public has made life difficult for many officials, so that there are certainly those who would rather go for nonpolitical jobs. However, what is left of the democratic drive of the institution of "several candidates" if this surplus of candidates is made up of those who are not thinking seriously of fighting (of course, with democratic means) to be elected to a political post? Is this not its own kind of simulation of a democratic game which is taking place according to a scenario put together in advance?

Despite the abdication of proposed candidates prior to elections, at least another two facts cast a shadow over the democratic nature of our variant of "several candidates." What does it mean when a lower level of authority, for example communal, divides its support equally between several candidates for one more senior post, for example, a republican post? Is this not in fact a mandate to higher authorities to arrange themselves in the way that they think is best? Or, what does it mean when one community proposes the same candidate for various forums and authorities—so where does he compete? Is this placing of one candidate on several lists for different posts not a reason for a gentlemanly withdrawal from some electoral battlefields, where it is known who is predicted to be the winner, and a reason for keeping to "one's own" race?

Having several candidates is a real democratic act only if each one of those on the list really wants to be elected and has a chance to be. Only under this condition can the one who is elected justifiably wear the ribbon of the democratic winner, that is, if he competes against honorable competitors who offer their own concrete programs and options, and not gentlemen who gallantly give up their power to others. Of course, this does not bring into question the moral and every other right of tired veterans to leave the political arena; on the contrary, the reasonableness of such gestures is more than obvious. This is a question of whether the democratic institution of having several candidates, which has been mentioned so many times, is really applied by putting onto the list inviolable favorites and several of the aforementioned political gentlemen who have no real ambition to be elected.

The fatigue of veterans and the fall in popularity of the politician's trade certainly does not mean that there are no individuals in public life who can and will articulate the stands of certain social groups and propose them to the global social community. The function of a democratic political system is in fact to allow them to do this. Only having "several candidates" of this type, and not those candidates who only compete so that the victor is not alone, represents the democratization of the electoral procedure.

The electoral atmosphere that is being created at the end of the eighties is in any case more interesting than "the race with one competitor" which we have been following at regular intervals in the last few, seemingly peaceful years. Windows are ajar, but the kitchens in which power is cooked up and distributed are still not completely ventilated and open to the broadest influence of the public.